

The  
American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION AT WASHINGTON

THE American Historical Association has a special relation to the city of Washington, different from that which it bears to other cities in which it has held or may hold its annual meetings. The federal statute by which it is incorporated (act of January 4, 1889) requires that it shall have its principal office in Washington. Even before that time, its sagacious secretary and principal founder, Professor Herbert B. Adams, had caused its third meeting to be held in that city, in April, 1886, the venerable George Bancroft presiding, and it was holding there its fifth meeting when, at the end of December, 1888, the bill for incorporation passed the two houses. Thirteen of its forty-two annual meetings have been held in Washington, the others being those of 1889, 1890, 1891, 1894, 1895, 1901, 1905 (shared with Baltimore), 1908 (shared with Richmond), 1915, 1920, and 1927.<sup>1</sup> Its members may properly feel that they need not wait for an invitation before resolving to meet in the city of their legal headquarters, and, with the attractions of the national capital such as they are, they probably do not greatly miss the more elaborate entertainment sometimes provided for them when they meet in the seats of opulent state universities.

What is certain is that to the meeting recently held in Washington on December 28-30, 1927, the members of the Association came in numbers hitherto unprecedented. The registration at this forty-second annual meeting reached the figure of 653, a larger one than was ever attained before, and equalling nearly a fifth part of the total membership of the society. Some of the large attendance was probably due to the fact that several other societies devoted to subjects historical or allied to history—sixteen of them, to be exact, the large ones being the American Economic Association, the American Politi-

<sup>1</sup> Some account of the history of the Association, from its foundation in 1884 to 1909, is to be found in an article published in October of the latter year (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XV, 1-20).

cal Science Association, the American Sociological Society, and the American Catholic Historical Association<sup>2</sup>—met in Washington at the same time. Joint sessions were held, as is usual, with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Agricultural History Society. As for the societies not historical, it is an open question whether the pleasure and advantage of casual meetings with colleagues devoted to these adjacent disciplines, and the convenience of those whose interest is divided between them and history, are not overbalanced by the hurry and confusion attendant upon such enormous gatherings, the scrappy and kaleidoscopic effect produced upon the studious mind. The American Historical Association was indeed not submerged by the crowd, but certainly it made a much diminished impression upon the public mind by reason of the presence of its sixteen interesting associates; never did one of the annual meetings receive so little space in the newspapers of the city where it met as was given to it on this occasion by the journals of Washington.

The headquarters of the meeting and place of registration were in the New Willard Hotel, and nearly all the meetings were held in one or another of its rooms. The session devoted to Hispanic-American history was, by courtesy of the Pan-American Union, held in its beautiful building. The Library of Congress threw open its concert hall for the session concerned with the diplomatic history of the United States, and made an especial occasion for the inspection of its treasures, particularly those of the Division of Manuscripts. Opportunity was also given for inspection of the archives of the Department of State, the Secretary receiving the visitors in the diplomatic reception room. The Freer Gallery of Art was thrown open at an exceptional hour.

The Association is much indebted to Mr. Fairfax Harrison, chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements. That the arrangements ran with almost perfect smoothness must be attributed mainly to the efficiency and thoughtfulness of the secretary of that committee, Dr. Leo F. Stock, whose work before and during the sessions was done so quietly and unobtrusively that it might easily escape the observation of members if not here commemorated.

The programme was devised, and in all its main outlines prepared, by Professor Samuel F. Bemis as chairman of the Programme Committee. When he was obliged to go to Europe, in October, on that mission for the Library of Congress which is to increase so largely its materials for the use of historical students, the completion of his

<sup>2</sup> The principal papers read before the American Catholic Historical Association will be printed in the April number of the *Catholic Historical Review*, that number being devoted exclusively to this annual meeting of that Association.

labors fell to the care of Dr. Christopher B. Coleman and other members of the committee. The programme was, by general agreement, an excellent one. The number of papers was kept down within reasonable limits. A greater number of them than ever before was directed toward the accomplishment of practical results. Many of them, especially of those read in the evening sessions, were of a sort in which the Washington public might be, and apparently was, interested. Several of them provoked public discussion. Several were addressed to those general or fundamental topics, of method, relation, and outlook, in which the younger generation, no longer suspicious of the "philosophy of history", is so actively interested.

Conspicuous among papers of this latter sort was the presidential address, a Layman's View of History, in which Dr. Henry Osborn Taylor, president of the society, set forth with clarity and eloquence his fundamental thoughts respecting history—on continuity and mutation, on the relation between the living past and our narration of it, on the unity of past and present and the unity of human life in its divers manifestations, on the human equation and the multiple significance of facts. The address was printed in the last number of this journal.<sup>3</sup> Its delivery was followed by that of the presidential address of Professor William B. Munro, president of the American Political Science Association, on Physics and Politics, an Old Analogy Revised,<sup>4</sup> the two societies sitting in joint session for the hearing of these addresses. After their conclusion there was an hour of historical music, provided by the Washington members of the American Historical Association, in which accomplished artists of that city—a string quartette, a singer, and two dancers—rendered a programme illustrative of the development of dance music, from the thirteenth century down, prepared by Mr. Carl Engel, chief of the Division of Music in the Library of Congress.

Other contributions beside Dr. Taylor's to thought on the most general aspects of historical work were presented in a session of three papers grouped under the general title, History and Science. First, Professor Frederick J. Teggart, of the University of California, discussed the Responsibility of the Historian. Declaring the historian's responsibility for the determining of procedure toward a strictly scientific study of the changes that affect civilization, he deprecated the attempt to determine causes in history from observation or contemplation of single sets of events—for instance, the decline and fall of any one empire considered alone. He also depre-

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 247-256. It is to be reprinted, we are glad to note, in *Science*.

<sup>4</sup> Printed in the February number of the *American Political Science Review*, pp. 1-11.

cated reliance on the physical or biological sciences for aid or guidance. He urged the view that our hope of eliciting knowledge, as distinguished from factual information, from the study of human experience, turns upon our willingness to face the task of comparing histories, in all the continents and throughout the entire extent of time for which evidence is available.

Next followed a paper by Dr. Frederick Barry, assistant professor of the history of science in Columbia University, on *Historical Essentials in the Philosophical Study of Science*. His discussion dealt with natural science as a knowledge of the world of "events", as things are now conceived by the physicist; a knowledge of data which are in constant flux as they are progressively interpreted by maturing experience. It is therefore knowledge in its meaning from time to time, and unlike theology or metaphysics rests not on static fixed principles but on induction. Being the truth of an ever growing experience it is always tentative, never complete and final, a living, growing, self-fertilizing knowledge, a generalized description of facts apprehended incompletely, always subject to revision, always a progressive adaptation to environment. From this it follows that the consciousness which science has of itself, the philosophy of science, is to be found not in a logical system of pure relations, but in the history of its growing ideas. Since history thus provides the data for a true philosophical view of science, historians may be urged to view the sciences in their totality and to provide synthetic generalizations with regard to the history of knowledge, a task preferable indeed to any antiquarianism however elaborate.

In the last of these three papers Professor Lynn Thorndike, of Columbia University, essayed an *Historical Sketch of the Relationship between History and Science*. In the main he presented, in chronological order, a survey of the more intimate contacts between the two—in ancient times in such instances as those of Aristotle and of Pliny the Elder, with some thoughts on the influence of Christianity upon both, later in the Arabic-speaking world and in the instance of astrology. The growth of scientific method in historical investigation was outlined, and the question was raised whether history can hope to devise such facilities in method as have produced the astounding progress of modern science.

Many other matters of general consideration were brought under discussion at the numerous luncheons and dinners which, as usual, intervened between the sessions of paper-reading. Thus, there was a dinner conference on the promotion of research, arranged by joint action of the Committee on Research, the Committee on Research in Colleges, and the Committee on Endowment. At this dinner, where



to be sure history played but a minor part, Dr. Maynard M. Metcalf, of the Johns Hopkins University, chairman of a committee organized by the National Research Council, described the programme of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Professor Guy S. Ford, of the University of Minnesota, that of the American Council of Learned Societies. Mr. Henry Allen Moe, secretary of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, described the methods followed by that foundation in selecting recipients of its fellowships for study in Europe, and Professor Wesley C. Mitchell, chairman of the Social Science Research Council, set forth the policies of the latter body in respect to grants in aid of research.

At a luncheon devoted to the subject of the teaching of history in schools, the topic set for discussion was the Objectives of History Teaching in the Public Schools. A paper on the subject was read by Professor Fremont P. Wirth, of the George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, whose doctrine was that the objectives should be found in the subject itself rather than in the needs of society, that they should be in harmony with the objectives of education in general, that the objectives for a changing society should be different from those appropriate for a static society, and that they should be such as will indicate definite goals of achievement. Such goals are: a questioning attitude toward historical facts; knowledge as to how civilization has developed; and such knowledge of method as will produce respect for scholarship, the habit of open-mindedness.<sup>5</sup>

At a luncheon of those especially interested in British history Professor Robert S. Rait, of the University of Glasgow, read a paper on the Place of Scotland in the Political History of Europe before 1603. Robert Bruce's alliance with France in 1328 made Scotland a factor in Europe during three centuries. The workings of the Franco-Scottish alliance were traced through the period of the Hundred Years' War and that of the French marriages of James V., till the time when James VI., refusing in 1587 the risks of co-operation with Spain, definitely kept Scotland in the orbit of England.

At a luncheon conference of those interested in the history of the Far East, where the topic of discussion was Untilled Fields in that history, Mr. Nelson T. Johnson, of the Department of State, spoke of the large number of documents in that department not yet available for students' use, the need for research in the materials in the East, and the advisability of more collaboration with Oriental scholars. Dr. Tyler Dennett, of the same department, emphasized the fact that no document could be made available to the public which bears on matters which are under negotiation, and that therefore any-

<sup>5</sup> The paper is printed in the March number of the *Historical Outlook*.

thing written on the diplomatic history of the recent period will soon have to be done again. Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck spoke of missionary contributions to the solution of diplomatic problems, and of the questions of the origin of the most-favored-nation clause and of extra-territoriality in treaties with Eastern powers. Professor Frank A. Golder, of Stanford University, spoke of fields for research in Russia.

Among the dinners, far the first place in any such record plainly belongs to that which occurred on the second evening of the convention, when the members of the American Historical Association and those of the other historical societies and of the American Political Science Association, some five hundred diners in all, joined in listening to after-dinner speaking of unusual distinction. The Librarian of Congress, Dr. Herbert Putnam, presided gracefully as toastmaster. The principal speech, by common consent, was that of the Canadian minister, the Honorable Vincent Massey, who spoke of the uses of historical research and the qualities of historical writing with the full appreciation of one who, in young days a university teacher of history, had since read much history and seen much of public life and large affairs, had contemplated all with a cultivated mind, and could touch upon all with equal insight and urbanity. He spoke of the changing viewpoints of history, and of the need of reconciling, as best may be, the claims of severe scholarship and the necessity of attractive and convincing presentation. He made his hearers feel the value of that rare combination of discriminate knowledge, sympathetic insight into the human mind, and artistic temperament and skill which constitutes the supremely excellent historian.

Mr. Massey was followed by Governor Ritchie of Maryland, who argued against legislation restrictive of immigration so severe as to run counter to generous American traditions; by Dr. Frederick Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation, who illustrated the problems that beset the trustees of large benevolent and educational funds; and by the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Herbert Hoover, who spoke chiefly of the Hoover War Collection in the library of Stanford University, which he has with so much interest and public spirit been building up into one of the world's chief collections of material for the study of the World War.

Also there was a dinner of the Agricultural History Society, and a dinner of those specially devoted to Hispanic-American history. Professor William E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, laid before the former his thoughts on the Drift of American Agriculture, particularly on its relation to wars and post-war conditions. Farming,

he found, had usually been profitable during war, and relatively unprofitable during peace. He showed the effect upon that occupation of the Napoleonic wars, the Civil War, and the World War, and of the periods of deflation that succeeded.

In the Hispanic-American dinner-conference several steps of practical progress were reported. A committee appointed at the Rochester meeting, Professor Charles W. Hackett of Texas chairman, had worked out a plan, which the conference approved, for a series to be known as the Interamerican Series, of translations into English, for circulation in North America, of standard college histories of the various Hispanic-American states, and of Canadian and United States histories into Spanish and Portuguese for circulation in Mexico, Central and South America. Professor A. C. Wilgus, of the University of South Carolina, reported progress on a bibliography of Hispanic-American history.

Discussion of measures of practical progress was, indeed, as has been already intimated, a noticeable feature of the convention's programme. One session, for instance, was devoted to the subject of governmental support of historical endeavor. Mr. Waldo G. Leland, permanent secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, spoke on International Support of Historical Activity, describing in some detail the work of two international organizations to which the American Historical Association is organically related, the International Union of Academies, to which it is related through its membership in the council named, and of which the activities are in part contributory to history, and the International Committee of Historical Sciences.<sup>6</sup>

Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick, acting chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, treating of what has been done by the United States government in support of history, emphasized the contrast between those meagre expenditures and its lavish outlay for scientific and industrial research, and enumerated the most notable purchases it has made of historical manuscripts, such as the Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, and Monroe papers, but set forth in telling fashion the casual, haphazard course it has followed in respect to the publication of historical materials. Dr. J. F. Jameson, discoursing on what the government could do and ought in the future to do for history, emphasized the same absence of plan, and, as to governmental expenditures for history, declared that they were, *communibus annis*, less than a thousandth part of one per cent. of the government's total expenditure, not much more than

<sup>6</sup> For accounts of the work of that committee, see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII. 381-384, 947-948, and p. 711, *infra*.

a thousandth part of what is spent for scientific research, less than what any of the larger and some of the smaller European governments spend for history, less than is spent by several of our states. He made various suggestions toward a programme of documentary historical publication, and especially toward a rational mode of devising such a programme, through the institution of a permanent commission of historical experts, such as most European countries have. The superintendent of documents at the Government Printing Office, Mr. Alton P. Tisdell, was present, and explained for the benefit of historical students the methods by which government publications can be obtained through his office.

Equally practical in its purposes was the Conference of Archivists which, according to custom, was held in connection with the annual meeting of the Association. The Rochester meeting was reported upon, and some account was given of the progress thus far made in Washington toward the erection of a suitable National Archive Building. Dr. Fitzpatrick explained, clearly and with proper discrimination, how the lines would in all probability be drawn between the materials which should properly be placed in this new repository and those which should be housed in the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress. Mr. George S. Godard, state librarian of Connecticut, chairman of the conference, presented a valuable survey of the legislation of 1927, national and state, relating to archives and public records. Anyone who remembers the earlier surveys of this sort laid before these annual conferences will be gratified at the increase of intelligence on the subject, manifested by the action of public bodies at the present time.

The Conference of Historical Societies held its annual meeting this year conjointly with the Bibliographical Society of America, and listened to two papers, one on the Photostatic Reproduction of Rare Early American Newspapers, by Professor William W. Bishop, librarian of the University of Michigan, the other on the Association's proposed Bibliography of American Travel, by Professor Solon J. Buck, of the University of Minnesota and the Minnesota Historical Society, into whose hands that enterprise has been committed by the society. Mr. L. L. Hubbard, one of the regents of the University of Michigan, gave a talk, illustrated by lantern slides, entitled Historical and Bibliographical Notes. Mr. Bishop's paper, modestly described by its author as a foot-note to Dr. Worthington C. Ford's "Ten Years of the Photostat",<sup>7</sup> gave additional information respecting series of newspapers more recently subjected to the photostat, especially the files of the *Kentucky Gazette*, 1787-1800,

<sup>7</sup> *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LVIII. 288-316.

and the *Detroit Gazette*, 1817-1830, reproduced by the University of Michigan, and respecting costs and precautions. He also outlined a plan, very worthy of adoption, whereby a deliberate judgment of those most expert might be applied to the question of priorities in this expensive work. Dr. Buck recounted the history of the Association's action relative to a general bibliography of American travel, at first under the care of the late Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, 1913-1919, more recently, since 1923, under that of Dr. Buck himself, and described the procedure which is intended to be followed in the completion of the work. The rate of progress depends on the appropriations made by the society, which in recent years has felt obliged to postpone appropriations of any serious amount till after the completion of its *Manual of Historical Literature*, which inevitably has a prior place in the programme of the Committee on Bibliography.

There was also a luncheon at which the special subject of discussion was the *Dictionary of American Biography* now being prepared under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies, and under the editorial conduct of Dr. Allen Johnson. Dr. Johnson explained its plans and procedures, its principles of inclusion and exclusion, and the like matters, and answered questions raised by members present.

Also of practical purpose was the luncheon of those primarily interested in modern European history, at which the topic set for consideration was the founding of a journal specially devoted to that field. A committee on that project had been formed from among those present at a session for modern European history held in the course of the Rochester meeting, and on the present occasion reported the results of its efforts and negotiations. Attractive proposals had been received from the presses of the University of Chicago and the University of North Carolina. Those present at the luncheon enlarged the committee by the appointment of several additional members, and at a later hour the committee resolved to accept the offers made by the University of Chicago Press. That press chooses the managing editor (Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt) and provides a generous subsidy. The Executive Council of the Association, upon request, passed a resolution expressing its approval of the enterprise, but the Association as such has no organic connection with it. The members will, however, certainly wish it all success, and doubtless many of them will be found among its subscribers. It is hoped to issue the first number early in 1929.

Among contributions having a practical end in view should also be mentioned the paper entitled a Programme for Co-operative Research

in the Diplomatic History of the United States, by Dr. Tyler Dennett, chief of the Division of Publications in the Department of State. He first gave a brief report of progress in the preparation and issue of the volumes of *Foreign Relations*, and then outlined his programme. His suggestion was that a conspectus should be prepared showing, under each country with which the United States has had diplomatic relations, and for each of the successive periods of such contacts, the histories or monographs or important articles that have been published respecting those relations, after which a systematic effort should be made to fill the gaps thus disclosed, by the preparation of competent monographs, so that in due time the whole field of the history of American diplomatic relations may be adequately covered.

Much however as was done and attempted toward practical ends, the forty-second annual meeting of the Association did not fail to make its contribution, as its predecessors had done, to the substance of historical knowledge, though space is lacking for any satisfying account of the additions made or the points of view illustrated. Meagre summaries, presented in chronological order for want of a more practicable one, are all that can be attempted; but the order should not obscure the fact that the maker of the programme was intent upon a rational grouping, whereby each session had a visible unity of theme, mostly disregarded in the present chronicle.

Farthest back in time lay the subject on which Miss Ellen C. Semple, of Clark University, discoursed in a joint session of the Association with the Agricultural History Society, Ancient Mediterranean Orchard and Vineyard Culture. She showed how, in a climate of variable precipitation, the drought-resisting qualities of vines, olive and fig trees gave them, next after cereals, the foremost place in the early agriculture of the Mediterranean regions, and with what practical skill, by methods perfected through long experiment, the husbandman adapted culture to natural conditions of climate and relief.

Two papers dealt with the constitutional history of the early days of the Roman Empire, one by Professor Donald McFayden, of Washington University, St. Louis, entitled the Nature of the Augustan Settlement Reconsidered, the other by Professor Frank B. Marsh, of the University of Texas, on Tiberius and the Development of the Early Empire. Mr. McFayden, discounting the representations of Dio, urged the view that Augustus, a practical politician, not a lawyer or constitution-maker, allowed the traditional republican constitution to continue to function, and relied upon personal prestige and influence as his means of control; that the principate, in the beginning, was not a magistracy created and defined by law, nor Augustus the



organizer of a monarchy, or even a dyarchy; but that the imperial monarchy and the bureaucratic institutions through which it functioned grew up gradually, in response to needs of the age, behind a slowly crumbling façade of republican institutions. Mr. Marsh attempted to explain the bias against Tiberius evinced in the *Annals* of Tacitus as mainly due to an aristocratic tradition arising from the struggle over the succession to the throne, which had compelled Tiberius to turn the law of treason against those nobles who took part in that struggle. The speaker analyzed the inconsistencies between the traditional picture of Tiberius with which Tacitus seems to have begun his work and the evidences which his narrative presented as it unfolded, and he developed a theory of the cause of the contradictions.

For a later period, that extending from Diocletian to the capture of Alexandria by the Arabs, Professor A. E. R. Boak, of the University of Michigan, treated of Byzantine Imperialism in Egypt. The keynote of the imperial policy was the exploitation of the people and the land, which led to the economic ruin of the small landholders, the serfdom of the peasantry, and the rise of an aristocracy of great landholders, who were at the same time high officials in the administrative bureaucracy. Hence a decay of Hellenic culture, and also a development of Egyptian nationality which found its expression in a political and especially a religious reaction against the Byzantine overlords, on which followed, with disastrous results, the attempt of the government to suppress Egyptian nonconformity.<sup>8</sup>

Bridging the interval to the Middle Ages, Dr. Charles H. Taylor, of Harvard University, considered the Theory of a Roman Origin of Carolingian Polyptychs. The claim of continuity between tax-registers of the fifth century and rent-registers of the ninth rests on the question whether or not the tenant of a fifth-century estate was assessed for the tax of his holding. Conflicting answers have been given. More thorough examination of the evidence—code texts and fragmentary tax-inscriptions—indicates that the state assessed owners and not tenants. Egyptian practice, however, shows Egyptian villas furnished with well-developed estate records for rent-collectors, and suggests the possibility of a Roman origin for the later polyptychs, but from villa accounts rather than from tax-registers.

A paper by Professor Laurence M. Larson, of the University of Illinois, on the Use of Witnesses in Old Norwegian Law, discussed features of judicial procedure in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially under the law of the Gulathing. The most prominent characteristic of this law is its dependence on the testimony of wit-

<sup>8</sup> The paper will be printed later in this journal.



nesses, both in civil suits and in criminal cases. Only in cases where such evidence could not be procured was recourse had to the *dóm*, compurgation, and the ordeal. The belief was expressed that writers on Germanic institutions have in the past laid too much emphasis on the unusual or spectacular methods of ordeal and compurgation, to the neglect of the plainly large use of evidence.

The last of the medieval papers was one by Mr. Arthur H. Noyes, of the Ohio State University, entitled *De Praerogativa Regis* in Late Medieval England, in which, after tracing the origin and early development of the royal prerogative in medieval Europe, the writer showed how, in the later period, the supporters of government in the new national states adopted the doctrines developed by the imperialist school in the struggle of the Empire with the Papacy, and how in England the Great Council and the Parliament by successive enactments encroached upon the king's prerogatives in respect to the control of the military establishment, finance, and crown lands, purveyance, supervision of the coinage, the making of peace and war, and other functions of the ideal king.

For the long period between the Middle Ages and the eighteenth century, there appeared but one paper, and that a paper American in theme, a study of the Relations between Government and Agriculture in Colonial New Jersey, read in the joint meeting with the Agricultural History Society by Professor Carl R. Woodward, of Rutgers University. The legislative measures adopted, whether by the mother countries or by the colonial governments, fall within three groups: efforts to promote the production of certain commodities through special aid, the most significant being efforts to encourage the production of hemp, flax, naval stores, and silk; regulations for the protection of person and property; and endeavors toward the supervision and control of colonial trade in agricultural products. Measures of all these kinds were described.

Of the eighteenth-century papers, four in number, three lay in the field of Hispanic-American history, the first being that of Professor Arthur S. Aiton, of the University of Michigan, on the Asiento Treaty (Anglo-Spanish asiento treaty of 1713) as Reflected in the Papers of Lord Shelburne, now in the William L. Clements Library of that institution. The materials on which the essay was based were the private and official papers, mostly of 1727-1739, of Peter Burrell, secretary and subgovernor of the South Sea Company, papers illustrating in the fullest manner all the operations, licit and illicit, of that company—the dealings of its factories and agents in all parts of Spanish America, its finances, its trade methods,

and their relation to the final outbreak of war, and especially the manner in which its trade under the cloak of the *asiento* weakened the economic hold of Spain upon her colonies.

The subject was further pursued in a contribution by Miss Vera L. Brown, professor in Smith College, on Contraband Trade as a Factor in the Decline of the Spanish Empire in America. Because the Spanish government paid well for evidence of such illegal trade, Spanish archives are rich in materials regarding its course, whether in the hands of the South Sea Company or, especially after 1739, in private hands. Every phase of that company's operations was permeated by it. Every employee of the company went as far in smuggling as his resources and credit would permit. The elimination of France from the field of American colonial activity at the close of the Seven Years' War was a great blow to Spain. Her acquisition of Louisiana and England's entrance into possession of the Floridas, with the right to navigate the Mississippi, which the English regarded as a means of introducing commodities into the Spanish dominions, brought the two nations face to face.

Explanation of the final phases of this contest was supplied by Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, of Vanderbilt University, in a paper on the Commerce of Louisiana and the Floridas, 1768-1800, considered in relation to the decline of the Spanish empire in America. The commercial concessions granted to these border provinces by Spain represented an intelligent effort to meet their peculiar needs and at the same time to facilitate their assimilation to the general colonial system. To exclude foreign commerce from them meant perhaps rebellion and certainly their ruin; to admit it meant heavy expense for profit to others, and easy course to contraband trade. The fundamental difficulty was the inability of Spanish manufacturers and merchants to supply colonial needs. Spain, unable to supply either the labor or the capital for the economic exploitation of her American possessions or to direct it, was forced to yield to peoples better prepared. It was in Louisiana, an exposed frontier province, that the pressure was first felt, and it was therefore in Louisiana that the dissolution of the Spanish empire began.

With these papers may be associated the talk which Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence Martin, chief of the Division of Maps in the Library of Congress, gave respecting Mitchell's Map and American Diplomatic History, in the session held at the Library. He illustrated the history of that map, on which he is writing an important monograph, by many interesting lantern slides.

On the nineteenth-century history of Europe there were three papers. Professor Merle E. Curti, of Smith College, whose theme

was the Peace Movement and the Revolutions which marked the middle of that century, showed how the advocates of international peace, whose activities first attracted widespread public notice at the time of the revolutions of 1848, conducted their movement in view of those events. The usual view of the pacifists, at first at any rate, was that democratic movements toward national self-determination would be helpful to the cause of universal peace. To lessen the danger of a general war which it was feared might follow in the wake of the revolutions, Elihu Burritt and his League of Universal Brotherhood sponsored "friendly addresses" between British and French cities, and, with the aid of the London Peace Society and the American Peace Society, organized popular peace congresses, in 1848 at Brussels, in 1849 at Paris, in 1850 at Frankfurt, in 1851 at London. Their efforts had a pronounced effect on public opinion, yet were much counteracted by the heightened nationalism of the time, and checked by the Crimean War and the outbreak of the Civil War in America.

By a similar combining of English and American evidences, Professor Frank J. Klingberg, of the University of California at Los Angeles, set forth the Effect of Anglo-American Anti-Slavery Agitation on Social Reform in England in the period between 1840 and 1860. There is an overwhelming mass of evidence that the English workingman, becoming conscious of the value of American propaganda, was resolved to bring it to bear on his own desperate political and economic struggles, interpreting or using Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as an indictment of the English landlord and manufacturer as well as of the slave-owner of the United States. English anti-slavery sentiment and conviction, the workers believed, were strong enough to carry with them relief for white laborers. After the downfall of the Confederacy, victory came with the Reform Act of 1867.

A paper of exceptional interest was that of Professor James P. Baxter, 3d, of Harvard University, on Reform in Naval Construction and its Significance in Modern History, in which he showed, as the result of researches in naval archives in Paris, London, and Washington, that France, not the United States, played the leading rôle in the introduction of ironclads; that the results commonly attributed to the combat between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* have been greatly exaggerated; and that from 1860 to 1864 the French fleet was, on paper at least, superior to the British in armored vessels. The introduction of shell guns, the annihilation of the Turkish fleet by shell fire at Sinope, and the success of the French armored floating batteries at Kinburn, led Napoleon III. to stop all construction of

wooden capital ships, and by 1860 he and his chief naval constructor, Dupuy de Lôme, had solved, with the *Gloire*, the problem of the sea-going ironclad. At the time of the fight between the *Merrimac* and *Monitor* nearly a hundred armored vessels were already built, building, or authorized in Europe. That fight merely taught the man in the street what the experts (those of our Navy Department included) already knew: that the introduction of shell fire had doomed the wooden navies of the world.<sup>9</sup>

The joint meeting with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the one session which the latter society had, was devoted to a Revaluation of the Period immediately preceding the Civil War. Three speakers considered three different aspects of it: Professor Lester B. Shippee, of the University of Minnesota, that of Public Lands and Immigration. Advocating the laying of a broader basis than has been customary for the study of American development, he assigned a large place in that construction to the determining influence of the public lands, and to the interrelation of their story with that of the tariff, internal improvements, banking and credit, monetary problems, slavery, railroads, and the influx and distribution of immigrants.

The position of the history of railroads in such a revaluation was treated by Professor Robert R. Russel, of the Western State Normal School of Michigan, who indicated important gaps in the history of transportation in the United States, such as the lack of monographs on the early railroads of Virginia and the Old Northwest, on the anthracite coal railroads, and on the Pacific railway issue in politics, and showed how many portions of our national history require revaluation in the light of the history of railroads.

The third such contribution was an informal discussion by Professor Chauncey S. Boucher, of the University of Chicago, tending toward a restatement of the slavery problem, with studies less occupied with politics, but more with cultural, moral, and social conditions in the South. A careful reading of the files of the New Orleans *Picayune* had led him to advocate a similar scrutiny of a dozen other Southern newspapers, and he suggested a long series of questions which such a reading might answer.

To a somewhat later period belonged two papers read in the session for American diplomatic history, that of Mr. Lawrence F. Hill, of the Ohio State University, on the Mission of James Watson Webb, the energetic and unscrupulous editor of the New York *Courier and Enquirer*, to Brazil, 1861-1869, and that of Professor Robert C. Clark, of the University of Oregon, on the Mission of Mr. (after-

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Baxter expects to publish in the autumn a book on the subject.

ward Sir) John Rose to Washington in 1869. The most important matter to which Webb had to devote his attention as minister was the course of the Brazilian government in the maintenance of neutrality during the Civil War in North America. Mr. Hill gave the history of his ineffectual protests, and of his equally ineffectual schemes for colonization of North American negroes on the Amazon, for a steamship line, and for ill-considered warfares and annexations. Mr. Clark's paper, casting new light on the genesis of the Treaty of Washington, derived from examination of British Foreign Office papers lately thrown open to students' use, will appear in a later number of this journal.

Latest in date were the subjects of the session devoted nominally to Slavonic history. Indeed, so recent were the themes that in the main the papers read belonged rather in the field of present politics or prophecy than in that of history. Professor Robert J. Kerner, of the University of Missouri, examined the operations and problems of the Little Entente. Professor Arthur I. Andrews, of the University of Vermont, discussed the Possibilities of a Balkan Pact. Mr. Frank Novak, of Boston University, on Poland and the Baltic Pact, showed that, though no such had been brought into actual existence, the events of the last few years, and especially the workings of various agreements between two states, gave strong evidence of community of interest between Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland. Professor Samuel W. Harper, of the University of Chicago, described the position of the Ukraine in the Soviet Union, exhibiting its constitutional and economic dependence, its degree of cultural and administrative autonomy.

The usual paragraphs of report concerning the annual business meeting may here be abridged by reason of the desire of the Executive Council that the most important of its votes and those of the Association should be printed, for the benefit of members not attending, as an appendix to the present article.

The secretary's report showed a total membership of 3469, a gain of 270 from the preceding year. Of this total membership, 355 were life members, 388 were institutions. The treasurer's report showed net receipts, not including contributions to the Endowment Fund, of \$17,462, to which should be added \$3000 supplied by the Commonwealth Fund, for the work of the Committee on History Teaching, \$9000 received from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, for the uses of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, and \$5000 of a grant from John D. Rockefeller, jr., for the study of the national and linguistic origins of the American population, under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. Against

this total of \$34,462 is to be set the net disbursements of \$28,504. A summary of the treasurer's report, taken from that of the auditor, and of the budget voted by the Council is, as usual, appended to this chronicle, and a report in full was printed in a pamphlet for the use of the members. The total amount of the Endowment Fund, reckoning it on the par value of the securities in which all but its last receipts have been invested, was reported as \$151,886, the report being expressed as of November 1, 1927. Much appreciation of the generous services of Professor Harry J. Carman as secretary of the Endowment Committee was manifested.

Professor Payson J. Treat presented a brief report for the Pacific Coast Branch, which in this year was holding its annual meeting in the Christmas vacation instead of in late November, as heretofore. The Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize recommended that it should be awarded to William F. Galpin of the University of Syracuse, for a monograph on the British Grain Trade in the Napoleonic Period. A memorial of the Honorable Albert J. Beveridge, to whom the Association has been so greatly indebted as chairman of its Committee on Endowment, was read, prepared by Dr. Christopher B. Coleman. Memorials of two ex-presidents, the late Governor Simeon E. Baldwin of Connecticut and Mr. James Ford Rhodes, had been prepared by Professor Theodore S. Woolsey and Dr. Worthington C. Ford.

On recommendation of the Council it was voted to hold the next annual meeting in Indianapolis, on invitation of the Indiana Historical Society; the dates will be December 28, 29, and 31 (December 30, 1928, being Sunday). It is expected that the meeting of 1929 will be held in North Carolina, on invitations from the University of North Carolina and Duke University.

Professor James H. Breasted was elected president of the Association for the ensuing year, Dr. James Harvey Robinson first vice-president, and Professor Evarts B. Greene second vice-president. Professor Bassett and Dr. Moore were re-elected secretary and treasurer respectively.<sup>10</sup> Three new members were elected to the Council, Mr. William L. Clements, Professor Samuel E. Morison, and Professor Winfred T. Root. The Committee on Nominations elected for the ensuing year consists of Messrs. Charles W. Hackett, chairman, Randolph G. Adams, Percy A. Martin, Laurence B. Packard, and Miss Lucy E. Textor. The term of Professor William E. Dodd

<sup>10</sup> In consequence of the lamented death of Professor Bassett on Jan. 27, the Council's committee on *ad interim* business has requested Professor Dexter Perkins, of the University of Rochester, to serve as secretary *pro tempore*, which he has consented to do.



as a member of the Board of Editors of this journal having expired, Professor Arthur C. Cole was elected by the Council in his place. Professor Greene having resigned from the Board on being elected second vice-president, Professor Verner W. Crane was elected to fill the unexpired remainder of his term. A full list of committee assignments for 1928 follows this article.

J. F. J.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

MEETING OF NOVEMBER 18-19, 1927

The Secretary presented the Council with an extract from the will of Miss Mathilde Dunning, as follows:

"I give and bequeath the following sum to the American Historical Association of Washington, D. C.: two thousand dollars. The income I direct to be used as a prize known as the John H. Dunning Prize and to be offered for the best historical essay by a member of the Association, conditions and subjects to be arranged by the authorities of the Association. I suggest that, for a time at least, the subjects cover historical matter connected with the Southern states during the Reconstruction period, material in which my father, John H. Dunning, and my brother, William A. Dunning, a former President of the Association, were deeply interested."

[At the December meeting of the Council the following rules were adopted:

"1. That the scope of the John H. Dunning Prize in American history shall include any and all subjects relating to the political and social transformation of the Southern States since 1865, provided that said subjects have antecedents in, or are related to, conditions in those states prior to 1876.

"2. That the prize, amounting to two hundred dollars (\$200), shall be awarded biennially, beginning in December, 1929.

"3. That a standing committee of three be appointed to consider essays submitted, to make the award, and to formulate regulations necessary for this work."]

It was voted that the President appoint a committee consisting of two of the editors and three members of the Council to report at the Washington meeting on the future of the *American Historical Review*. The following were appointed: H. E. Bourne, chairman, W. K. Boyd, E. P. Cheyney, E. B. Greene, and J. F. Jameson.

The Secretary presented the report of Mr. E. P. Cheyney, chairman, for the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications. The Council approved of the recommendation of the Committee that publication for the present be confined to the publication of works of special historical value, in proper literary form, which can not be published at a commercial profit, and yet will bring in returns that will at least partially and in time reimburse the fund. It was voted that the Committee have authority to select such works, have them put into suitable literary form,



and make contracts for publication, the said contracts to be signed by the President of the Association [or one of the Vice-Presidents (later amendment)].

It was voted that the sums contributed and to be contributed to the Endowment Fund from Indiana be set aside and known as the Beveridge Memorial Research Fund, in memory of the late Hon. Albert J. Beveridge.

The Secretary presented the report of the Committee on History Teaching in the Schools, Mr. A. C. Krey, chairman. The Committee reported that the Carnegie Foundation was very much interested in the proposed study and had granted \$15,000 to carry forward an intermediate stage of the work. It was voted that the grant from the Carnegie Foundation be accepted, that the programme suggested by the Committee in accordance with the ideas of the head of the Carnegie Foundation be carried out during the coming year, and that the Committee continue with the same members.

MEETING OF DECEMBER 28-29, 1927

The Committee on Future Arrangements for the *American Historical Review*, appointed by the Council at its November meeting, reported the following resolutions:

"1. That it is not expedient at this time to attempt to make or recommend arrangements of more than a temporary character;

"2. That the Committee further begs leave to recommend to the Council, first, that Professor Dana C. Munro be invited to take the office of Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review* for one year from July 1, 1928; secondly, that the compensation offered be \$2500 per annum;

"3. To recommend that all matters respecting quarters for the *Review*, and like details, during the period ending on June 30, 1929, be entrusted to the Board of Editors;

"4. To recommend the appointment of a special committee to lay before the Council at its November [1928] meeting such recommendations as may then appear to be expedient for the future management of the *Review*, including the managing editorship."

It was voted that the first and second resolutions be adopted and that the present Committee, increased by three additional members appointed by them, shall serve for one year as the committee to perform the duties pointed out in the last resolution. [Later the Committee reported the addition to its membership of Messrs. C. B. Coleman, C. P. Higby, and Allan Nevins.]

On motion of the Treasurer, the Union Trust Company of Washington, D. C., was appointed fiscal agent in behalf of this Association.

Mr. Edward P. Cheyney, chairman of the Committee on the Revolving Publication Fund, reported that the Committee had voted a subvention for the publication of a book by Professor William A. Heidel on the Pilgrimage Festivals of Israel.

The Council authorized the Committee on the Bibliography of Modern English History to sign a contract with the Oxford University Press for the publication, on the terms submitted to the Council at the November meeting by Mr. Cheyney, of the volume in preparation by the said Committee [Tudor period].

The Secretary presented a communication from Mr. Wesley C. Mitchell, chairman of the Social Science Research Council, requesting the Association to appoint one, two, or three representatives to advise with the committee to organize the *Journal of Social Science Abstracts*. The Council acceded to the request. [Later, Messrs. Sidney B. Fay, Joseph C. Green, and William L. Langer were appointed as such representatives.]

It was voted that for the transaction of *ad interim* business in 1928, a committee be created consisting of E. B. Greene, chairman, John S. Bassett, J. F. Jameson, Charles Moore, and Dana C. Munro.

On motion of the Treasurer, it was voted that a Board of Trustees be appointed to handle the funds of the Association. The Council appointed Conyers Read, chairman, Guy Emerson, and Dwight W. Morrow, with the Treasurer *ex officio*.

It was voted that for one year the research grant under the Beveridge Memorial Fund be awarded to Mr. R. H. Shryock, provided Duke University contribute the sum of \$500, the amount not to exceed \$3000 in all, to investigate the history of the Public Health Movement in the United States, and that Mr. Shryock's researches shall be under the supervision of an advisory committee consisting of Mr. W. K. Boyd, Mr. A. M. Schlesinger, and Surgeon General Hugh S. Cumming, director of the United States Public Health Service.

In reply to a request of Mr. Chester P. Higby, it was voted that the Association will give its approval to a proposed *Journal of Modern European History*, projected by Mr. Higby and a group of other scholars interested in the enterprise.

It was voted that in December, 1928, the Council shall meet a day earlier than the day set for the annual meeting, *i.e.*, on December 27, at an hour to be determined by the Secretary.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The Secretary presented his annual report on the progress of history in the United States during the year, as required by the act incorporating the Association, with some suggestions relating to the progress of the Association and the situation before it at the present time.

The Treasurer presented his annual report in printed form, with the budget for the year 1928.

Letters were read from Mrs. Albert J. Beveridge and Mrs. Frank T. Griswold [making gifts of \$50,000 and \$25,000, respectively; see the preceding number of this journal, pp. 463 and 514].

The Secretary reported the recommendation of the Council that the next annual meeting be held in Indianapolis, on December 28, 29, and 31. The recommendation was adopted.

The Secretary reported that the Council at its meeting in November, 1927, had repeated its resolutions passed in December, 1923, relating to efforts to influence the writing and teaching of history in the schools, and asked the meeting to express its attitude on the action of the Council. The meeting by unanimous vote expressed approval. [The resolutions referred to were printed in the *Review* for April, 1924 (XXIX. 428), and read as follows:

"Whereas, there has been in progress for several years an agitation conducted by certain newspapers, patriotic societies, fraternal orders, and others, against a number of school text-books in history and in favor of official censorship, and

"Whereas, this propaganda has met with sufficient success to bring about not only acute controversy in many cities but the passage of censorship laws in several states, therefore,

"Be it resolved by the American Historical Association, upon the recommendation of its Committee on History Teaching in the Schools and of its Executive Council, that genuine and intelligent patriotism, no less than the requirements of honesty and sound scholarship, demand that text-book writers and teachers should strive to present a truthful picture of past and present, with due regard to the different purposes and possibilities of elementary, secondary, and advanced instruction; that criticism of history text-books should therefore be based not upon grounds of patriotism but only upon grounds of faithfulness to fact as determined by specialists or tested by consideration of the evidence; that the cultivation in pupils of a scientific temper in history and the related social sciences, of a spirit of inquiry and a willingness to face unpleasant facts, are far more important objectives than the teaching of special interpretations of particular events; and that attempts, however well meant, to foster national arrogance and boastfulness and indiscriminate worship of national heroes can only tend to promote a harmful pseudo-patriotism; and

"Be it further resolved, that in the opinion of this Association the clearly implied charges that many of our leading scholars are engaged in treasonable propaganda and that tens of thousands of American school teachers and officials are so stupid or disloyal as to place treasonable text-books in the hands of children are inherently and obviously absurd; and

"Be it further resolved, that the successful continuance of such an agitation must inevitably bring about a serious deterioration both of text-books and of teaching, since self-respecting scholars and teachers will not stoop to the methods advocated." <sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The Vermont Society of Sons of the American Revolution, at a recent annual meeting, passed resolutions on this subject so excellent that we can not refrain from appending them here:

"Whereas, we believe that the history of our country is sufficiently inspiring not to suffer from a frank relation; and whereas, there arise from time to time attempts to hamper and restrict the writing and teaching of history in the interests of special prejudices, often in the name of patriotism; be it resolved, that we deplore as dangerous to the spirit of free speech the attempts, however honestly intended, by political bodies or patriotic societies to dictate the nature of the facts and conclusions that scholars shall be allowed to place in text-books and other historical works."

## STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

## RECEIPTS

Annual dues .....	\$ 13,755.29
American Historical Review, contribution .....	1,500.00
Endowment Fund contribution, including life membership dues .....	59,966.28
Refund in exchange of bonds .....	620.36
Registration fees .....	87.50
Royalties .....	124.51
Publications .....	77.35
Miscellaneous .....	20.52
Interest:	
Endowment Fund .....	\$ 2,562.00
Andrew D. White Fund .....	67.00
George L. Beer Prize Fund .....	305.00
Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund ....	1,280.00
William A. Dunning Fund .....	250.00
John H. Dunning Prize Fund .....	50.00
American Historical Review Fund .....	460.00
Bank deposits .....	488.74
	<hr/>
Grant from Commonwealth Fund .....	5,462.74
Grant from Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial.....	3,000.00
Grant from John D. Rockefeller, jr., for study of national origins .....	9,000.00
John H. Dunning Prize Fund .....	5,000.00
Committee on Bibliography of British History (transferred from savings account) .....	1,900.00
	<hr/>
Total receipts .....	349.33
Cash on deposit, December 1, 1926 .....	\$100,863.88
	25,013.86
	<hr/>
	<u>\$125,877.74</u>

## DISBURSEMENTS

Secretary and Treasurer .....	\$ 3,314.88
Pacific Coast Branch .....	400.00
Committees of Management:	
Nominations .....	\$ 59.00
Membership .....	24.65
Programme .....	520.67
Executive Council .....	264.08
Endowment .....	8,496.56
Treasurer's contingent fund .....	159.44
	<hr/>
	9,524.40

## Historical Activities:

Bibliography .....	424.20	
Publications .....	637.95	
Bibliography of Modern British History ...	559.00	
Writings on American History .....	400.00	
American Council of Learned Societies ....	2,941.56	
Committee on History and other Social Studies in the Schools .....	1,476.33	
International Committee of Historical Sci- ences .....	8,765.90	
Conference of Historical Societies .....	50.00	
Committee on Historical Research in Colleges	4.75	
		15,259.69

## Prizes:

Justin Winsor .....	200.00	
American Historical Review .....	8,251.98	
John H. Dunning Prize Fund:		
Bequest of Mathilde Dunning with interest ..	1,950.00	
Transferred to fund .....	50.00	
		2,000.00
Endowment Fund investments (unrestricted) .....	53,135.00	
Interest on bonds to date of purchase .....	494.31	
Total disbursements .....	\$ 92,580.26	
Cash on deposit, November 1, 1927 .....	33,297.48	
		<u>\$125,877.74</u>

## ENDOWMENT FUNDS

	Cost	Par value
Principal account, invested .....	\$82,194.00	\$ 82,200.00
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Fund .....	4,900.00	5,000.00
Andrew D. White Fund .....	1,183.00	1,200.00
George L. Beer Prize Fund .....	5,002.50	5,000.00
William A. Dunning Fund .....	Bequest	5,000.00
John A. Dunning Prize Fund .....	2,000.00	2,000.00
American Historical Review Fund .....	8,192.50	8,500.00
Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund .....	24,935.75	25,000.00
		\$133,900.00
Funds awaiting investment .....		17,986.39
Total .....		<u>\$151,886.39</u>

## BUDGET, 1928

## Receipts:

Annual dues .....	\$14,000.00
Interest on endowment and on bank balances ..	7,000.00
Royalties .....	100.00
Publications .....	100.00
Registration fees .....	200.00
Government appropriation for printing Report .....	7,000.00
Carnegie Fund for Study of History Teaching ..	15,000.00
Rockefeller Grant for Study of National Origins in the United States .....	5,000.00
Miscellaneous .....	25.00
	<hr/>
	\$48,425.00

## Disbursements:

Office of Secretary and Treasurer .....	\$ 3,700.00
Pacific Coast Branch .....	400.00
Committees of Management:	
Committee on Nominations .....	75.00
Committee on Membership .....	75.00
Committee on Programme .....	500.00
Committee on Local Arrangements .....	150.00
Executive Council .....	500.00
Committee on Endowment Fund .....	10,000.00
Treasurer's Contingent Fund .....	200.00

## Historical Activities:

Committee on Bibliography .....	500.00
Committee on Bibliography of Modern British History .....	500.00
Committee on Publications .....	700.00
Printing Annual Report .....	7,000.00
Conference of Historical Societies .....	25.00
Public Archives Commission .....	300.00
Writings on American History .....	100.00
American Council of Learned Societies ....	220.00
Committee on Historical Research in Colleges .....	50.00
Committee on History Teaching (Carnegie Fund) .....	15,000.00
Delegates in the International Committee ..	100.00
Committee on Carnegie Publication Fund ..	200.00
Rockefeller Grant for Study of National Origins .....	5,000.00
Bibliography of Travel .....	250.00

## Prizes:

Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, 1927 .....	200.00
George Louis Beer Prize, 1927 .....	250.00
American Historical Review .....	8,000.000
	<hr/>

\$53,995.00

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

*President*, James H. Breasted, University of Chicago, Chicago.

*First Vice-President*, James H. Robinson, 173 Riverside Drive, New York.

*Second Vice-President*, Evarts B. Greene, Columbia University, New York.

*Secretary*, John S. Bassett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.<sup>12</sup>

*Treasurer*, Charles Moore, 1719 H Street, Washington, D. C.<sup>13</sup>

*Assistant Secretary-Treasurer*, Patty W. Washington, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

*Editor*, Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

*Executive Council* (in addition to the above-named officers):

John B. McMaster<sup>14</sup>

J. Franklin Jameson

Albert Bushnell Hart

Frederick J. Turner

William M. Sloane

Andrew C. McLaughlin

George L. Burr

Worthington C. Ford

Edward Channing

Jean Jules Jusserand

Charles H. Haskins

Edward P. Cheyney

Charles M. Andrews

Dana C. Munro

Henry O. Taylor<sup>14</sup>

James T. Adams

Frank M. Anderson

William L. Clements

Laurence M. Larson

Samuel E. Morison

Dwight W. Morrow

Winfred T. Root

Payson J. Treat

OFFICERS OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH: *President*, Edgar E. Robinson, Stanford University; *Vice-President*, Louis J. Paetow, University of California; *Secretary-Treasurer*, Ralph H. Lutz, Stanford University; *Executive Council*: (the above and) Donald G. Barnes, Owen C. Coy, Frank W. Pitman, Levi E. Young.

COMMITTEES:

*Committee on Programme for the Forty-third Annual Meeting*:

Christopher B. Coleman, 334 State House, Indianapolis, Ind., chairman; William K. Boyd, Shirley Farr, Chester P. Higby, Kenneth S. Latourette, James C. Malin, Albert T. Olmstead, James F. Wilbard; and (*ex officio*) Christopher B. Coleman, Herbert A. Kellar, Dexter Perkins.

*Committee on Local Arrangements*: James W. Fesler, Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind., chairman; Emmett A. Rice, 213 East 50th Street, Indianapolis, secretary.

*Committee on Nominations*: Charles W. Hackett, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, chairman; Randolph G. Adams, Percy A. Martin, Laurence B. Packard, Lucy E. Textor.

*Editors of the American Historical Review*: Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, chairman; Francis A. Christie, Arthur C. Cole, Verner W. Crane, Sidney B. Fay, J. Franklin Jameson.

<sup>12</sup> Acting secretary, Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.

<sup>13</sup> For purposes of routine business the secretary and the treasurer may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

<sup>14</sup> The names from that of Mr. McMaster to that of Mr. Taylor are those of ex-presidents.



- Historical Manuscripts Commission:* Theodore C. Pease, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., chairman; Randolph G. Adams, Elizabeth Donnan, Reginald C. McGrane, Newton D. Mereness, Paul C. Phillips, Morgan P. Robinson.
- Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize:* Carl Wittke, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, chairman; James T. Adams, Louise P. Kellogg, Frederick Merk, Allan Nevins.
- Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize:* Frederic Duncalf, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, chairman; Vera L. Brown, Paul V. B. Jones, William L. Langer, Preserved Smith.
- Public Archives Commission:* George S. Godard, State Library, Hartford, Conn., chairman; John H. Edmonds, Thomas M. Marshall, Charles W. Ramsdell, James G. Randall.
- Committee on Bibliography:* George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., chairman; William H. Allison, Solon J. Buck, Sidney B. Fay, Louis J. Paetow, Augustus H. Shearer, Henry R. Shipman. *Subcommittee on International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography:* Grace G. Griffin.
- Committee on Bibliography of Modern English History:* Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Godfrey Davies, Roger B. Merriman, Wallace Notestein, Conyers Read, Caroline F. Ware.
- Committee on Publications:* H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, D. C., chairman; Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., secretary; and (*ex officio*) Samuel F. Bemis, J. Franklin Jameson, Theodore C. Pease, Dexter Perkins, Oscar C. Stine.
- Committee on Membership:* Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, chairman; Arthur S. Aiton, James P. Baxter, 3d, Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Walther I. Brandt, Robert D. W. Connor, Charles W. Hackett, Ralph V. Harlow, William T. Hutchinson, Paul Knaplund, John A. Krout, Robert L. Meriwether, Nelson V. Russell, Raymond J. Sontag, George M. Stephenson, Joseph W. Swain, Reginald G. Trotter, Jonas Viles, Albert T. Volwiler, Judith B. Williams.
- Conference of Historical Societies:* Otto L. Schmidt, Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill., chairman; Christopher B. Coleman, 334 State House, Indianapolis, Ind., secretary.
- Committee on the National Archives:* J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., chairman; Tyler Dennett, Waldo G. Leland, Charles Moore, Eben Putnam, James B. Wilbur.
- Committee on Hereditary Patriotic Societies:* Dixon R. Fox, Columbia University, New York, chairman; Arthur Adams, Natalie S. Lincoln, Mrs. Annie L. Sioussat.
- Committee on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools:* August C. Krey, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., chairman; Guy S. Ford, Ernest Horn, Henry Johnson, William E. Lingelbach, Leon C. Marshall, Charles E. Merriam, Jesse H. Newlon.
- Committee on Endowment:* Harry J. Carman, Columbia University, New York, executive secretary; Charles M. Andrews, James P. Baxter, 3d, Marshall S. Brown, Solon J. Buck, Harry A. Cushing,

- Guy S. Ford, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, Edward Krehbiel, H. Barrett Learned, Stewart L. Mims, Charles Moore, William A. Morris, Dana C. Munro, Conyers Read, Otto L. Schmidt, Henry M. Wriston.
- Committee on obtaining Transcripts from Foreign Archives:* Charles M. Andrews, 424 St. Ronan Street, New Haven, Conn., chairman; Waldo G. Leland, Wallace Notestein.
- Delegates in the American Council of Learned Societies:* Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson.
- Committee on the George L. Beer Prize:* Paul Knaplund, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., chairman; William T. Laprade, Ralph H. Lutz, Charles Seymour, Preston W. Slosson.
- Committee on Historical Research in Colleges:* E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., chairman; William E. Lunt, Bertha H. Putnam, Fred A. Shannon, Henry M. Wriston.
- Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government:* J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Worthington C. Ford, Andrew C. McLaughlin, John B. McMaster, Charles Moore, Frederick J. Turner.
- Representatives in the International Committee of Historical Sciences:* James T. Shotwell, 407 West 117th Street, New York, N. Y.; Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C.
- Committee on the Jusserand Medal:* George C. Sellery, 2021 Van Hise Avenue, Madison, Wis., chairman; Charles D. Hazen, Paul Van Dyke.
- Delegates in the Social Science Research Council:* Guy S. Ford, Carleton J. H. Hayes, Arthur M. Schlesinger.
- Representatives in the Committee for the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences:* Carl Becker, Clarence H. Haring, Carleton J. H. Hayes.
- Committee on the International Congress at Oslo:* Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C., chairman; J. Franklin Jameson, Laurence M. Larson, Nellie Neilson, Wallace Notestein, Waldemar Westergaard.
- Committee on the Secretariat:* James Sullivan, State Education Building, Albany, N. Y., chairman; Guy S. Ford, Waldo G. Leland, Joseph Schafer.
- Committee on the Carnegie Fund for Publications:* Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., chairman; James H. Breasted, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland.
- Representatives for the Social Science Research Council's Journal of Abstracts:* Sidney B. Fay, Joseph C. Green, William L. Langer.

## CONSTRUCTIVE TREASON BY WORDS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

THE letters of the Paston family together with the records of Parliament have served to cast discredit upon the administration of justice in England during the fifteenth century. In part also the notorious fame of the fifteenth century has been due to the persistent insinuations propagated by the pro-Lancastrian chroniclers of the following century. And in particular, of course, the shadow of discredit has fallen upon the administration of the law of treason during the period in question.<sup>1</sup> There were, it is true, extenuating circumstances. Rebellion and civil war were almost chronic occurrences, and the provocation was considerable. During the fifteenth century the trial of treason was frankly regarded as a political matter pertaining to the jurisdiction of Parliament. By the middle of the century even the quasi-judicial impeachment had given way to the wholly political bill of attainder, in which dozens of names were often embodied without any attempt at discrimination.<sup>2</sup> As regards the trial of treason in the ordinary courts, however, very little evidence is in fact available, and that is not more discreditable to the judges of the fifteenth century than the more abundant materials of the following period are to the courts of the Tudors.<sup>3</sup>

One point in the indictment against the fifteenth-century trial of treason is worth examining in some detail for what truth it may contain. It has been asserted that the courts of this period construed spoken words as amounting to treason and that they did this, moreover, by virtue of a common-law doctrine of treason by words which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. More's *Life of Richard III.* (ed. Lumby), p. 67; also Grafton, *Chronicle*, II. 107. Buckingham's supposed speech to the people of London in 1483: "Whereof I thinke that no man loketh that we shal remember you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten which was, for a worde spoken in hast, cruelly behedded, . . . by the misconstruing of the lawes of the realme for the princes pleasure. . . . What . . . Cooke, Alderman and mayor of this noble citie, . . . who is of you eyther so negligent that he wotteth not . . . that mans losse?"

For other commentary on the character of fifteenth-century justice cf. Reeves, *History of English Law* (ed. Finlason), III. 32, 334; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, III. 52, 289-290; Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward*, pp. 390, 394; Holdsworth, *History of English Law* (second ed.), I. 480, 575.

<sup>2</sup> Hale, *Jurisdiction of the Lords' House*, Hargraves's introduction, pp. v f.

<sup>3</sup> "The patent of the constable and the marshal fully explains why we have so few records of treason in the ordinary courts in this reign . . ." (Edward IV.). Willis-Bund, *Select State Trials*, I. 32.

was resurrected in utter defiance of the statute of 1352.<sup>4</sup> This abuse would seem peculiarly flagrant in view of the fact that the century had opened with a solemn reaffirmation of the statute of 1352 as the only authoritative statement of the English law of treason.<sup>5</sup> That there was broad and even unjust construction of the statute can not be denied, but the theory offered in explanation of it is unsound. In the last analysis it rests upon false premises and upon an incomplete and inaccurate interpretation of the evidence available for the period.

The false premises are two. The first consists in the supposed existence of a mysterious and rather mystifying common-law doctrine of treason by words; the second in that the statute of 1352 specifically forbade it, and that its subsequent resurrection was therefore illegal. The chief support for the doctrine of treason by words at the common law is to be found in the form of the appeal of treason as it is described in the early law-books. In this the accuser is instructed to charge that on a given day and in a given place he had heard the defendant in question speak of an intent against the king or against the realm.<sup>6</sup> The context of the passage does not bear out the supposition that the words thus charged to the defendant were in themselves regarded as treason. It was not as a mere expression of opinion that they amounted to treason but rather because they were part as well as proof of an actual conspiracy against the king. The conspiring was the actual offence; the words were the overt act.<sup>7</sup> Before 1352 as after, the essence of treason is to be found in the intent to compass the death of the king; everything else, words included, was to be regarded as the outward manifestation and as the proof of that intent.<sup>8</sup>

The few cases of which record exists for the period prior to 1352 confirm the conclusion that the premise of the common-law

<sup>4</sup> This is the argument of Miss Thornley's article on "Treason by Words in the Fifteenth Century", which appeared in the *English Historical Review*, XXXII, 556-561.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Henry IV., c. 10, in *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 426.

<sup>6</sup> "Scilicet dicere debet se interfuisse et vidisse . . . et scivisse ipsum accusatum prolocutum fuisse mortem regis, vel seditionem. . . ." Bracton, *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae* (ed. G. E. Woodbine, f. 119).

Cf. also Britton's version (f. 39B); "Johan, qi ci est, apele Peres, . . . de ceo qe, com il fu en certeyn leu a tel certeyn jour a tel an la oy mesmes cestui Johan purparler tele mort, ou tiel treysoun par entre cestui Peres et un autre . . ."

<sup>7</sup> This is the interpretation offered by Staunford in *Plees del Coron*, 2B, citing Bracton as authority.

<sup>8</sup> "We may see perhaps that a wide scope might be given to the phrase which condemned those who 'imagined' the king's death." Pollock and Maitland, II, 505.

doctrine of treason by words is as needless as it is misleading. The simpler explanation that spoken words constituted a sufficient overt act to prove a treasonable intent is adequate for the purpose. In 1194 William FitzOsbert appealed his brother Richard of treason, charging him with attendance at a meeting of several persons "in the stone house of the said Richard where they talked about the aid which was to be paid for the king's ransom". In the course of the discussion Richard declared that he would spend forty marks for a chain with which to hang the king and his chancellor, and the others are said to have agreed with him.<sup>9</sup> Here the essential charge is that of conspiring; the words alleged to have been spoken are offered as an indication of its treasonable character.

Again in 1214 Baldwin Tyrrell was accused of treason on the ground that he had said that King John was dead. But Baldwin was also charged with defying the king, violating his peace, and resisting by force the efforts of his men to take legal possession of a house which had been fortified for this purpose. This is very like rebellion, especially since Baldwin is also spoken of as being "armed with breastplate and pourpoint and iron cap, and in his hand he held an iron axe".<sup>10</sup> A year earlier, in 1213, one Peter of Wakefield had been hanged for prophesying the impending death of John, but as Maitland adds justly enough, "under James I. he would have suffered a similar punishment for a similar offence".<sup>11</sup>

The truth of the matter is that what underwent expansion at the common law was not a supposed doctrine of treason by words but rather the more fundamental idea that as regards the king the mere compassing of his death amounted to treason. The statute of 1352, invaluable as it was, did not depart from this principle, but in fact embodied it. Nor did it anywhere prohibit the use of spoken words as proof of treason. Here was the principal weakness of the statute from the standpoint of precision. In respect to the manner of proving treason its phraseology was so cryptic as to necessitate elaboration and construction. Proof was by means of an overt act, and what has not in its time served the purpose of this clause? To look beyond the statute for some vague or imaginary doctrine of treason at the common law is therefore wholly gratuitous. Still less appropriate is it to appeal to the authority of a judicial opinion of 1628

<sup>9</sup> *Rotuli Curiae Regis* (ed. Palgrave), I. 69. Note that the conspirators in agreeing with Richard also added: "Quidquid eat vel veniat, quod numquam habeant Londoniae alium regem quam majorem Londoniae."

<sup>10</sup> Maitland, *Select Pleas* (Selden Society), p. 71.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67 n. Cf. also Pollock and Maitland, II. 505, 507 n. "The gaps in the statute which were afterwards supplied by 'construction' were gaps natural to our old law."

for support in this contention.<sup>12</sup> That is merely begging the question; it is legalism rather than good historical method. For law changes, and the opinion of 1628 will not hold good for the fifteenth century. It did not even hold true of several cases tried only a few years before the opinion of 1628 was returned.<sup>13</sup>

Even the much-admired judges of 1628 added an important qualification to their opinion by saying that words, although not treason, might serve as "evidence to discover the corrupt heart of him that spake them".<sup>14</sup> This qualification will answer nearly as well for the fifteenth as for the seventeenth century. In this connection the opinion of Judge Newton, cited fully in a case as early as 1451, is very pertinent. If a man has imagined the death of the king or queen, said Judge Newton, he is to be punished for such an imagination, although he may have done nothing toward its realization.<sup>15</sup>

In fact, however, the fifteenth century offers no clear record of a case in which a charge of treason was made to rest upon bare words and upon nothing else.<sup>16</sup> In almost every instance where

<sup>12</sup> *English Historical Review*, XXXII. 556.

<sup>13</sup> 2 *State Trials* 870, 1086. Peacham's case in 1615, in which the man was charged with the preparation of a supposedly treasonable sermon. This sermon had been neither delivered nor published. Cf. also Owen's case of the same year, in which the defendant was tried and convicted by Coke himself on the charge that he had spoken treasonably against the king. (*Ibid.*, p. 879.)

<sup>14</sup> 3 *State Trials* 368. Coke and Hale furthermore distinguished between spoken and written treason on the principle that *scribere est agere*. (Coke, 3 *Inst.* 14; Hale, *History of the Pleas of the Crown*, I. 112.)

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, second ed., II. 450; also Reeves, *History of English Law* (Finlason ed.), III. 32. Reeves explains this opinion by supposing that in the actual practice of the period "slight circumstances were construed overt acts of treason . . .".

<sup>16</sup> The only case of presumable treason by words alone is that of Juliana Quick, in 1443. She was indicted on the usual charge of having compassed the king's death. She was further accused of addressing disrespectful words to King Henry, among them: "Thou art a fool, a known fool throughout the whole kingdom of England." But even here there is a suggestion of something more, perhaps of a conspiracy against the king. The indictment adds that these words were spoken "ex assensu Willielmi [her father] et aliorum proditorum ignotorum". (3 *State Trials* 360.)

It may be questioned, moreover, whether Juliana was ultimately held for treason at all, for she is reported to have suffered "paine dure et forte" for refusing to plead. According to law a refusal to plead to a charge of treason led to an immediate conviction. (Hale, *Historia Placitorum Coronae*, I. 223, 382.) Cf. Kingsford, *London Chronicles*, p. 152, where it is reported that a mad woman was pressed to death for refusing to speak a word to the judge, "For sche had spokyn ungoodly, and to presumptuously unto oure liege lord the kyng".

Two or three other cases of fifteenth-century treason by words have become notorious in English tradition through the efforts of the Tudor chroniclers. In so far as fuller evidence concerning these cases has become available, it indicates that the earlier reports were not only incomplete, but also confused and inaccurate.

spoken words formed part of the indictment they were linked up with other circumstances; together they constituted one or more overt acts of treason.<sup>17</sup> Except by misreading the available evidence, it is impossible to argue that, under the inspiration of the common law and in defiance of the statute of 1352, words were by themselves regarded as amounting to treason. In the fifteenth, as in the sixteenth, century there was good reason why even the mere expression of opinion should be subject to suspicion. In both periods it was easy to cast doubt upon the legal title of most of the rulers, and these were naturally apprehensive of all criticism. Especially great was the fear of published opinion, since this was obviously intended to discredit the government then in power. By the familiar logic of construction it could be (and was) reasoned that such opinion might incite people to rebellion, which would weaken the king's position and even imperil his life. And this amounted to treason.

The case of the Minorite friars in 1402 illustrates precisely this chain of constructive reasoning. The judges summarized the contents of the indictment under four heads, of which only two related to spoken words. The friars were charged with preaching false sermons, in which they proclaimed that Richard was still alive, thereby inciting people to join him in Scotland. Likewise they heard false confessions, enjoining such as were penitent to rally to Richard. The other two charges, if true, clearly contained treason. The defendants had collected money and sent it to the rebel Glendower, and they had also sent men to Scotland to seek out Richard, who was reported to be still alive.<sup>18</sup>

rate. Take, for example, the Burdett case, with which the greatest amount of confused tradition has become associated. In Hall, p. 369, and in Grafton, II. 107, Burdett appears as a London merchant, living at the sign of the Crown, who was convicted and executed inside of four hours for saying that he would make his son heir of the crown. Stow (p. 680) straightens this out more or less by explaining that this was in reality the case of Walter Walker, a London grocer, but his own version of the Burdett case is not more accurate, although it agrees with Holinshed, III. 345. In this account (Stow, p. 707) Burdett is described as a retainer of the Duke of Clarence. Angered at the loss of a favorite buck in his park, following a royal hunt, he is said to have spoken out that he wished the buck, head, horns, and all, were in the king's belly. For this he was convicted of treason. But the official record of the indictment and trial is in the *Baga de Secretis* (*Deputy Keeper's Report*, III., App. II., p. 213). It does not bear out the traditional version, as will appear below.

<sup>17</sup> So much Miss Thornley herself admits, even as regards the cases upon which her argument chiefly rests. Cf. *English Historical Review*, XXXII. 557 n.

<sup>18</sup> "Indictati estis quod vos . . . praedicastis falsos sermones in quibus false dixistis quod Rex Ricardus vivit, et excitastis populum ad quaerendum eum in Scotia. Similiter vos . . . audivistis falsos confessiones, in quibus injunxistis populo pro poenitentia ut quaerent Regem Ricardum in Wallia." *Eulogii Historiarum Continuatio* (Rolls), III. 392.



In other cases the overt acts, although including a charge of words spoken, were even better supported, and it would require little straining of the statute of 1352 to bring them under its provisions. The preparation and posting of seditious bills will clearly fall within even a narrow interpretation of the clause requiring an overt act. Whether the bills were actually seditious has no direct bearing upon the present issue. The generally unsettled conditions of the period should be borne in mind; they would determine to what extent they contained treason and whether the mere circulation of such bills should be punished as treason.

That they were so regarded there is abundant proof. In 1416 one John Benet was executed as a traitor for circulating "schedules full of sedition". This, it should be remembered, was at the time of the Lollard troubles; Sir John Oldcastle had been declared an outlaw, but had not yet been taken prisoner. In this period, according to one chronicler, "many were the bills distributed in streets and squares", intended to "stir the hearts of the people and . . . to raise them against the king".<sup>19</sup> Benet's conviction is intelligible, even if it can not be justified. Many years later, in 1456, John Holton, a lawyer, was convicted of treason for "presuming to raise his voice to the skies, and to write bills against the royal person, which he might not do".<sup>20</sup> Under Richard III. William Colyngbourne was held for treason, according to the chronicler, chiefly for writing the famous couplet:

The catte, the ratte, and Lovell our dogge  
Rulyth all England under a Hogge.<sup>21</sup>

Additional evidence, however, discloses the fact that in this case, as in so many others in this period, this was not an unsupported charge,

*Cf.* also the documents cited in *English Historical Review*, XXXII. 558 f. The confession of Walter Walton, one of the defendants, is worth quoting in part, since it brings out clearly the existence of a conspiracy, of which the words charged were offered as proof: "Et le dit frere Wauter Walton conust outre que . . . la furent ensemble en grant conseil et la firent ledicte Frere Wauter adonques countier a eux toutes les matieres suiditez et quant ils avoient oiez ils se rejoisoient de oier pur celle nouvelle. Et conust outre que son purpos et volonte feust quil voilloit avoir eide le dicte Roy Richard. . . ." In the Latin record of this proceeding it is concluded that as a result of these activities of Walter and of his accomplices, "verisimile est finalis destructio regni Anglie in hac parte consequeretur".

<sup>19</sup> "In vicis et plateis plurima scripta . . . per haec corda populorum commovere et . . . contra regem temerarie insurgere." John Capgrave, *Chronicle*, p. 316; also Stowe, p. 565.

<sup>20</sup> "Quia praesumpsit ponere os in coelum, taliterque per scripturam billarum tangere personam regiam, qualiter eum tangere non licebat." *Registrum Abbatiae Whethamstede*, I. 247-248.

<sup>21</sup> Fabyan, *Concordance of Histories*, p. 672.

but that it was part of one more comprehensive, involving the preparation and circulation of seditious opinion.<sup>22</sup> A last instance of the same kind may be cited in the cases of Thomas Bagnall, John Scot, and two others, who were taken from sanctuary and tried for treason in 1494. Here also the offence charged to them was that of imagining and compassing the king's death, which they hoped to bring about by "withdrawing the people's affection from the king". And as a further means toward achieving this aim they had composed "various bills and writings, in rhyme and ballad form, containing sedition and rebellion . . . against the king and his council, which they posted over the door of St. Benedict's". And in addition, they had adhered to Perkin Warbeck, the king's enemy.<sup>23</sup>

The fifteenth century offers still another group of cases which seem to rest chiefly upon bare spoken words, but here also, in spite of Coke's opinion to the contrary,<sup>24</sup> there is no real reason why they should not fall within the compass of the statute of 1352, more or less liberally interpreted. In an enlightened age, such as, shall we say, the witch-baiting seventeenth century, it might seem absurd that any one prophesying or attempting to forward the king's death by magic means should incur the penalty of treason. Logically, however, such construction is unimpeachable, once a real belief in the efficacy of the black art is admitted. If men hoped by such means to achieve the desired end, certainly they might be punished for it. To prepare a waxen image of the king and to hold it over the fire, in the hope and belief that thereby the king was being made to waste away to his death, is to give undeniable expression to an evil intent against the king, and that by no very difficult operation of the constructive process is clearly treason.

<sup>22</sup> Kingsford, *London Chronicles*, p. 199. Cf. 3 *State Trials* 365, where the indictment of Colyngbourne is given in full. He was charged with an intent to "imagine and compass the death of the king and the subjection of the realm". The principal acts laid to him included correspondence with the French king and with other enemies of Richard, and in conclusion: "sic praedictus Willielmus et alii fuerunt proditorie adhaerentes." As a means toward carrying out their intention: "et . . . diversas billas et scripturas in rythmis et balladis de murmuracionibus, seditionibus, et loquelis, . . . fecerunt, . . . et illas per ipsos sic factas . . . super diversa ostia ecclesiae cathedralis sancti Pauli, . . . posuerunt. . . ."

<sup>23</sup> 3 *State Trials* 366. "Thomas Bagnall et alii mortem regis imaginaverunt, . . . et ad intentionem praedictam, quod populi regis cordialem amorem retrahere, . . . diversas billas et scripturas in rythmis et balladis . . . proditorie fecerunt, et super ostium ecclesiae sancti benedicti . . . posuerunt.

"Et quod ipsi fuerunt adhaerentes cuidam Perkin Warbeck, inimicus regis, . . . ad levandum guerram et deponendum regem."

<sup>24</sup> Coke, 3 *Inst.* 6.

To illustrate, in 1441 Thomas Southwell, John Hum, Master Roger Bolingbroke, and a woman were tried for treason on the charge that the Duchess of Gloucester had procured them to prepare an image of wax resembling the king, and by means of their incantations "to brynge out of lyfe lytell by lytell the kynges persone, as they lytell by lytell consumyd the image".<sup>25</sup> An even more notable case occurred in 1477. Thomas Burdett, a retainer of the Duke of Clarence, was accused of employing John Stacy and Thomas Blake "to calculate the nativities of the king and of the Prince of Wales, to know when they would die". Furthermore, "by art magic, necromancy, . . . they compassed the death and final destruction of the king and prince".<sup>26</sup> Nor was this their only offence. They had also published the results of their calculation and "treasonably . . . made known to one Alexander Rushton and other of the king's people, that according to the calculation . . . the king and prince would not live, but would in a short time die . . .".<sup>27</sup> The logic by which this offence was construed as treason is given in the official record; it is somewhat labored and circuitous, but its ingenuity is undeniable and anticipates that of the judges of the late sixteenth century, who were masters of the art of construction. The offences charged to Burdett, the record reads, amount to treason because they disclose his intent that "by the revealing . . . these matters the cordial love of the people might be withdrawn from the king by knowledge of the same, who would be saddened thereby, so that his life would be thereby shortened".<sup>28</sup>

The final answer to the theory that by reason of some mysterious common-law doctrine spoken words were construed as treason lies in the form and general content of the typical fifteenth-century indictment for treason. It was not yet stereotyped; nor was its logic marked by any very rigorous legalism. On the contrary, it was a narrative tending toward exhaustive comprehensiveness. Its

<sup>25</sup> William Gregory, *Chronicle*, pp. 183-184; Davies, *English Chronicle*, pp. 57-60; Fabyan, *Concordance*, p. 614. This attitude toward necromancy survived into the sixteenth century. Cf. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. XII., pt. 2, no. 1212, where a priest is reported as having been convicted of treason on the charge of making false prophecies. Cf. also *ibid.*, vol. XIII., pt. 1, no. 705. In the same year, 1538, two women were convicted of treason, one having procured the other "to fast a black fast . . . to an abominable intent against your Highness and the Duke of Norfolk".

<sup>26</sup> Baga de Secretis (*Deputy Keeper's Report*, III., App. II., p. 213).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Added to this was again the usual charge that the defendants "did falsely and treacherously disperse and disseminate divers seditious and treasonable bills and writings, rhymes, and ballads, . . . to the intent that the people should withdraw their cordial love . . . and rise and make war against the king, to the final destruction of the king and prince". *Ibid.*

primary object, it would seem, was to recite all the circumstances which would not only prove the treason charged but also aggravate the offence in every conceivable way. Its effect was cumulative, and the rhetorical taste of the author would seem often to have dictated the elaboration of much of its detail. When spoken words were charged, they did not stand by themselves, but formed part of a manifold narrative, which, however, received its unity from the fact that it was pointed to a single end, to prove an intent to compass and imagine the king's death. In the statute of 1352 this was the first and most important offence of treason, and it remained so in the indictments of the fifteenth century, to which everything else was subordinated, although it was contrary to Coke's earnest injunction of a later date regarding "the several and distinct treasons . . . and therefore one of them cannot be an overt act of another. . . . For this were to confound the several classes, or *membra dividenda* . . .".<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Coke, 3 *Inst.* 14. Cf. also Hale, *Summary of the Pleas of the Crown*, p. 13: "Conspiring to levy war no overt act, unless levied, because it relates to a distinct treason." For illustrations of the exhaustively comprehensive indictments of this period, cf., among others, that of the Earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey in 1415. (*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, IV. 65; Walsingham, *Chronicles*, Rolls ed., II. 305.) The charges included conspiring to remove the Earl of March to Wales, keeping the knowledge of a royal pretender from the king, and, in conclusion: "ac insuper quod ipsi diversa castra ejusdem Domini regis nunc in Wallia caperent, et eadem castra contra ipsum Dominum regem nunc manu forti tenerent . . . quam plures alias proditiones, felonias . . . , videlicet, ad ipsum Dominum regem nunc ac Thomam Ducem Clarencie . . . Fratres suos, necnon alios Dominos, Magnates, et fideles Ligeos dicti Domini regis nunc, finaliter destruendum et interficiendum, . . . falso et proditorie proponendo et imaginando." Cf. also the indictment presented against Sir John Oldcastle in 1413. (*Rot. Parl.*, IV. 108.) Oldcastle was charged with many "intolerable things", but principally that he and the other rebels "falsely and treacherously proposed and imagined to kill the king, his brothers, . . . as well as the prelates and said magnates, and to disinherit the king . . .". Or cf. the indictment presented against Courtenay and Hungerford in 1469. (*Rot. Parl.*, VI. 306.) "Falsi proditores, rebelles . . . falso et proditorie proponentes praefatum regem, contra ligeancie sue debitum, . . . [deponere], praecipientesque tunc quod ipsi praemissa facere non potuerant quamdiu . . . , mortem et finalem destructionem ipsius regis . . . per guerram in regno praedicto levando, . . . ad tunc et ibidem imaginati fuerunt, et ad illud propositum . . . exequendum et perimplendum . . . praedicto falso et proditorie communicaverunt et inter se concordati fuerunt . . . quod ipsi . . . consulerent et confortarent, . . . prefate Margarete . . . et aliis Inimicis, Rebellionibus . . . Regis . . ."

SAMUEL REZNECK.

## CONSULAR SERVICE IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

The seventeenth century was a period of growth and transition for the English consular service. From having been chiefly an agency of trading companies or of groups of influential London merchants, it was taking on, quite imperfectly, a national and a public character. This development was naturally most marked in the case of consuls established in countries whose trade was not allocated to a company but open on equal terms to the whole English nation, that is, in Denmark, France, Spain, Flanders, Portugal, and Italy excluding Venice, whose dominions lay within the sphere of the Levant Company.<sup>1</sup>

But while the institution was progressing, the consuls themselves were meeting with general disapprobation from all or most of the parties with whom they had to deal. If a consul could so conduct himself as to please at once the London merchants trading to his port, the English factors there, the masters of English ships coming in to discharge or to freight, the native merchants and residents of the port, the local magistrates, customs and admiralty officers, the English ambassador or other diplomatic representative in residence, the Secretary of State in England, and, at last, the King in Council—he would do very well. For the consuls in Spain and Portugal one must add the Inquisition. For those stationed in Turkish ports the displeasure reigning between the Levant Company and the interlopers was a further complication. As almost all consuls at this time engaged in trade, their own affairs constituted an interest second to none in their affections.

It might have been expected that the English factories in the most important trading cities abroad would be adequate to their own protection, but the factory organization was decaying even in ports where England had a large trade. The day when English commerce was carried on exclusively by means of colonies of Englishmen living to themselves in compactly organized factories, like outposts in enemy country, was over. Merchants no longer found it necessary to travel with their wares, nor to retain reliable and experienced partners in the chief ports of their trade. The improvement of the posts, unsatisfactory as they still were, allowed mer-

<sup>1</sup> It has seemed best to omit from this paper any consideration of consulates or similar offices still under company control, as, *e.g.*, at Hamburg or Smyrna, and to discuss only such as were intended to serve the nation at large.

chants to remain in England, directing their business by letter, and depending upon occasional services by commissioners in the termini of their trade. These men obeyed instructions and exercised no wide discretionary powers. They might be young English factors having no "stock" as yet to trade on their own account, but familiarizing themselves with commercial methods in the hope of making their fortunes in the course of time. A few were employed on salaries, but for the most part they received a commission of two per cent. on the value of each transaction. They were a hungry and a jealous lot, constantly fearful of losing their employment to native commissioners. There was reason for this apprehension, as English merchants were making increasing use of foreign houses in the management of their business abroad, finding them less desultory than the English factors. Several factories were rent and distracted by political controversy growing out of the constitutional struggle in England.

The factory at Leghorn should have been an important association, for it had some fifty members, but the English resident in Tuscany, Sir John Finch, reported it in bad condition: "I find this factory of Livorno constantly engag'd in Law Suits, and hence I conjecture it comes to passe that the memory of man cannot reckon three persons upon the Royall Exchange who gott Estates in so great a factory as Livorno. . . . I find also that at Venice allmost all English buisnesse is either in Italian or Dutch hands, and the like is introducing here too; whereby the 50th part of all goods exported out of England or imported thither, rests in forreign hands 2 per Cent being the lowest factorage."<sup>2</sup>

At Genoa an observer experienced in the Italian trade reported the factors supine and inarticulate. "I finde o'r merchants heere doe really trade upon great disadvantages That many things might be obtayned heere by Articles for the Benefit of trade, espetially in this conjuncture, when villa Franca gives them no small Jealousie. That o'r Merchants heere are all raw young men, who know indeed where the shoe wrings them, but have not yet had the witt or sense to make the least application to his Ex'ce or to desire his mediation with the King, for the obtayning any Priviledges for them, notwithstanding his E. hath courted them to it from the Beginning."<sup>3</sup> One of the more important merchants at Genoa lamented that "our trade of late is gott into the hands of strangers who finde those

<sup>2</sup> To Lord Arlington, Florence, June 3/13, 1665. State Papers, Foreign (Public Record Office), Tuscany, bundle 5.

<sup>3</sup> John Dodington, secretary to Lord Fauconberg, to Joseph Williamson, Genoa, May 8/18, 1670. *Ibid.*, Genoa, bundle 2.

at home to Father their goods, by which meanes they pay noe strangers dueties, to noe small prejudice of the Nation abroad and merch'ts at home".<sup>4</sup>

The picture given by Sir Robert Southwell of the factory at Lisbon was no doubt the gloomier because the ungrateful factors in the excitement of a quarrel with their consul "forgott allmost all that Respect that my Character here from his Maj'tie and the good Treatment I give them doth deserve".<sup>5</sup> He recommended a good man to serve as their judge conservator, and was much aggrieved when the matter promptly became a *casus belli*. The dissidents, he said, "are men of Faction and Unquiet Spiritts, and delight in nothing else but debauching all the young men to make up a Party. These would needs with all vehemency oppose themselves hereunto without Rime or Reason, and they have beene most shamefully tampering up and Downe to gett Votes for a certaine other Person, with no other spiritt then to shew Themselves, as they call it, Free borne Subjects, and to Uphold the Liberties of the People which is their mutinous dialect".<sup>6</sup> "They are for the most part young men who, having been bred up in the Licentious Principles of the late bad Times, have not as yett mended their manners nor their Opinions."<sup>7</sup>

Because of the decline of companies and factories the English merchants trading to the countries of Western Europe looked to the king for protection. Indeed the crown had always been in the last resort the defender of its nationals abroad. It now assumed a more direct responsibility for the security of the English merchant, wherever he might be, and for his enjoyment of the privileges set forth in commercial treaties. In the exercise of this guardianship it used as the only agency ready to hand the consulates which had been established in the *foci* of English trade abroad.

Commercial consulships are, as their name suggests, of Italian origin.<sup>8</sup> In the late Middle Ages their institution was extended first to Levantine ports, and afterwards to French and Catalan cities in the Western Mediterranean. A consul represented the trading interests of his own city, and acted as president, judge, and

<sup>4</sup> Giles Ballot to *id.*, Genoa, Feb. [9?]19, 1669/1670. *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Sir Robert Southwell to Lord Arlington, Lisbon, Oct. 31/Nov. 10, 1668. (Copy.) Add. MSS. (British Museum), 34338, f. 150.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 150 v.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* to the Lord Keeper, Nov. 8/18, 1668. (Copy.) *Ibid.*, f. 151.

<sup>8</sup> Consuls of merchants appear in Italian communes in the twelfth century. See G. B. Depping, *Histoire du Commerce entre le Levant et l'Europe* (1830), II. 3; also C. W. Previté-Orton, "The Italian Cities till c. 1200", in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, V. 236.



spokesman of his fellow-citizens in the port of his residence. In the fifteenth century Northern merchants pushed through the Straits to claim a share in the richest trade that Europe knew. We hear of an English consul at Pisa in 1485.<sup>9</sup> Henry VIII. established consuls in the dominions of Venice,<sup>10</sup> and in 1530 won Charles V.'s sanction for the consuls of the English nation in the Andalusian ports.<sup>11</sup> In 1580 Elizabeth obtained a firman from the Sultan of Turkey allowing, among other privileges, English consulates in the Scales of the Levant.<sup>12</sup> Although the consular character and prerogatives were from the first conferred by the crown it is probable that appointments were made in consultation with the merchants frequenting the trades concerned. Several, perhaps most, of the English consuls in Mediterranean ports in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were foreigners, Italians predominating. Nor was it unusual for the local governor, when he wished to deal collectively with the merchants of a nation, to appoint them a consul, whether they would or no. During the reigns of the first Stuarts consular appointments were generally treated as perquisites of the great trading companies, though Trinity House made some effort to appropriate them, as having title to all flotsam of marine affairs.<sup>13</sup> With the Interregnum a new conception of the consular office developed. The state began to depend on the consuls not merely for the encouragement and protection of English trade, but for political intelligence, and for assistance to the English fleet in the Mediterranean. In March, 1649, the Council of State of the Commonwealth asserted its right to approve all consular nominees,<sup>14</sup> and thereafter acted upon that right. The same policy was followed by the Protector.

When Charles II. returned to his kingdoms he found a consular service of a politico-commercial nature left over from the previous régimes, and naturally turned out the incumbents, with one exception, to put deserving Royalists in their places. The consular office at Marseilles was bestowed on Richard Colston, an inexperienced lad under twenty, according to the aggrieved merchants, though he was all of twenty-two by his father's reckoning. The father, William Colston, a merchant of note in the West Country, had devoted his

<sup>9</sup> Georg Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik* (1881), I. 133.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278, 280-281.

<sup>12</sup> Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, V. 182.

<sup>13</sup> In 1630 Trinity House appointed a consul to Leghorn, and in 1631, one to Genoa. See the "Court Minutes" of the Corporation calendared in Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighth Report*, p. 244.

<sup>14</sup> Council of State to the Merchant Adventurers and other merchant companies, Mar. 12/[22], 1648/1649. *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1649-1650, p. 34.

estate to the king's cause, and was now rewarded with the title of deputy-lieutenant of Bristol, and the consulate of Marseilles for his son, while a nephew became consul at Malaga. This was a cosy family arrangement as the Colstons were greatly concerned in the Straits trade. But the English merchants and factors resident in Marseilles being, as Colston *père* averred, "of the factious stamp", protested the appointment of Richard on the ground of his youth and inexperience, and appetite for greater fees than the trade would bear.<sup>15</sup> In this they were supported by the London merchants trading to the Straits, who were not fond of Bristol men. While the Colstons were struggling against this opposition in London and Provence, another claimant appeared in the person of Daniel Codgill, likewise armed with letters patent from Charles II. He explained to Lord Holles, then English ambassador at Paris, that he had laid out a fortune of 10,000 *l.* for the king, and he was clearly determined to have the consulate at Marseilles in lieu of principal and interest. "I find him a stiff Scotchman", concluded Lord Holles apprehensively,<sup>16</sup> and stiff indeed he proved. During four years Colston contended with him for the post, but at the end of that time the terrible Scot reappeared with fresh letters patent, ousted his rival, and, though he was quite unfit, remained consul to the end of his days.<sup>17</sup>

To have enough consulates to go around, Charles's ministers thought to establish two new ones at Bordeaux and Morlaix. The former post, which included the port of Rochelle, was designed for

<sup>15</sup> William Colston to James Buck, Jan. 26/[Feb. 5], 1660/1661? (more probably 1662). *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1660-1661, p. 489.

<sup>16</sup> [To Williamson?], Oct. 3/13, 1663. *St. Pap., For., France*, 117, f. 157. Codgill had tried to act as Charles II.'s consul at Marseilles in 1649. *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1649-1650, p. 376.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Colston to Secretary Williamson, Cadiz, Feb. [7]/17, 1675. *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1673-1675, p. 574. This letter was written after the death of Codgill, when Colston was again a candidate. An undated minute in Williamson's hand, probably of 1663, mentions that Codgill was unfit to be consul (*St. Pap., For., France*, 117, f. 272), and that opinion is borne out by the following extract from a letter of Francis Hill, an English merchant settled in Marseilles, to Sir Joseph Williamson, Jan. 23/Feb. 2, 1671/1672: "S'r you were pleased in yo'r formers to hint somethinge Concerninge the Consull you would doe a nationall service and infinitely oblige us, if you could prevayle to place another Consull in his stead, who might allowe him a competent maintenance w'ch would bee more benefitiall as the case now standes w'th him then otherwayes for hee now Enjoyes Little or nothinge of that revenue itt beeing attached in o'r hands as fast as o'r shippes arrive by sundrie pretended Creditors for debts of 20 to 30 and 40 yeares standinge, to the great molestation and disquiet of all the factory and the disgrace of the whole Nation to such Extremity is the poore old man reduced." *St. Pap., For., France*, 133, f. 30.

another stiff Scottish Royalist, Sir David English. But the factors at Bordeaux protested with a hardihood which Sir David, echoing William Colston, characterized as rebellious.<sup>18</sup> The consulate, they declared, was an "unnecessary and noxious novelty" ruinous to trade, and they entertained a very low opinion of the capacities of Sir David English.<sup>19</sup> Failing to secure his revocation, they turned to the authorities of Bordeaux, and stirred up opposition to the consulate by representing that the excessive fees levied by Sir David would drive away English shipping, and so diminish the revenues of the port. Thereupon the Cour des Aides of Bordeaux issued an *arrêt* suspending Sir David from the exercise of consular functions and the perceptions of fees until the pleasure of the King of France should be known.<sup>20</sup> Here the matter stuck for more than a score of years, though Sir David was indefatigable in the pursuit of his consulate; though he offered dozens of Westphalian bacons to Lord Holles, and presents of claret and white wine to the Secretary of State; though he obtained orders from Charles II. to the ambassador to press for recognition of the appointment;<sup>21</sup> though Louis XIV. confirmed his patent.<sup>22</sup> The English factors, the Bordeaux merchants, and the Cour des Aides held firm, and would have no consulate. Quite Scottishly Sir David English lived to be very old, like Codgill, his brother Scot and consul at Marseilles, and continued the struggle even after his enemies burned down his house to discourage him. Finally, when he was upwards of eighty, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was his opportunity. Petty persecutions, and some not so petty, dismayed the English factory at Bordeaux. There was undoubted need of a consul clothed with the authority of a royal commission. Sir David produced his claim, and was recognized as consul by the Earl of Sunderland, then Secretary of State. But by that time Louis XIV. had changed his mind and would not confirm him.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> "Some English Merchants commissioners here . . . opposed themselves rebelliously against me; and disclaimed his Ma: Royall authority saying openly his Ma: had no power: but by his Parlement." Sir David English to Secretary Bennet, Bordeaux, Mar. [3]/13, 1662/1663. St. Pap., For., France, 117, f. 47.

<sup>19</sup> Protest addressed to [Lord Holles?], signed by 15 factors of Bordeaux, May 13/23, 1664. *Ibid.*, 118, ff. 197-198.

<sup>20</sup> Copy of an "Extrait des Registres du Conseil Privé du Roy", annulling the *arrêt* of the Cour des Aides, [Nov. 22]/Dec. 2, 1662. *Ibid.*, 116, ff. 82-83.

<sup>21</sup> Lord Holles to [Secretary Bennet], Apr. 12/22, 1664, *ibid.*, 118, f. 159. Royal letters were also addressed in behalf of Sir David English to Louis XIV., Feb. 27/[Mar. 9], 1662/1663 (corrected draft), *ibid.*, 117, f. 41; [1668] (corrected drafts), *ibid.*, 125, ff. 148, 173.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. note 20, *supra*.

<sup>23</sup> Sir David English to Sir William Trumbull [1685]. Hist. MSS. Comm. (no. 75). *Report on the MSS. of the Marquess of Downshire*, vol. I., *Papers*

As to the other new consulate which was to have been set up at Morlaix, Lord Holles warned the Secretary of State: "Concerning that Consull for Brittany I believe the Marchants are much against it, who must not be discouraged for trade is bad enough already."<sup>24</sup> The secretary heeded, and the project was dropped.

In London opposition to Charles's consulates was as outspoken as in the factories abroad. While the Marseilles and Bordeaux appointments were in contest, the merchants trading to Spain entered the lists with a petition demanding the removal at one sweep of three of Charles's nominees, the consuls at Cadiz, Malaga, and Seville.<sup>25</sup> Herein they broached boldly the question of the king's right to appoint consuls, a scruple adumbrated also by the Englishmen of Bordeaux.<sup>26</sup> The Spanish merchants, though they were no longer a company, appealed to their historic privileges, asserting, "That his Ma'tie. . . . not being fully informed of their Priviledg derived from the 22th of Henry the 8th, for Electing a Consul or Consuls, and establishing them for advance and carrying on their Trade and Commerce in Spain, hath lately removed the Consuls chosen by them and their Factors, and constituted others utterly unfitt to mannage their Trade; And praying that they and their Factors (according to their Priviledg) may be permitted to elect such Persons for their Consuls, as (being Loyall to his Ma'tie) they shall thinke fitt".<sup>27</sup> The petition came before the King in Council, and there the question of the king's prerogative in appointments was discreetly avoided. "It was Ordered (his Ma'tie present in Councell) That the said Company of Merchants Tradeing for Spaine doe agree upon some fitt person to be Consull in Cadiz, and Porta S'cta Maria, and that they doe acquaint Mr. Secretary Bennet therewith, who is to present the name of such person to his Ma'tie for his approbacion."<sup>28</sup>

of *Sir William Trumbull*, pt. I., p. 39. For the French opposition, see p. 572, *infra*.

<sup>24</sup> Dec. 26/Jan. 5, 1663/1664. St. Pap., For., France, 117, f. 257. He refers again to the opposition at Morlaix in a letter of Apr. 12/22, 1664. *Ibid.*, 118, f. 159.

<sup>25</sup> Petition of the Merchants trading to South Spaine, Oct. 25/[Nov. 4], 1662. *Ibid.*, Spain, 44, f. 411. Nov. 12/22, 1662, Register of the Privy Council (P. R. O.), Car. II., 2/56, p. 201.

<sup>26</sup> They complained of the appointment of Sir David English as made "clandestinely, and without the consent or knowledge of any of our nation either here or at home". Protest addressed to [Lord Holles?], signed by 15 factors of Bordeaux, May 13/23, 1664. St. Pap., For., France, 118 f. 197. See also note 18, *supra*.

<sup>27</sup> Nov. 12/[22], 1662. Register of the Privy Council, Car. II., 2/56, p. 201. The nature of the privilege referred to, and the circumstances in which it was granted, are explained in Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik* (1881), I. 280-281.

<sup>28</sup> Jan. 16/[26], 1662/1663. Register of the Privy Council, Car. II., 2/56, p. 273.

But the capture of a single consulate did not satisfy the Londoners. There was some talk of a resolution in the House of Commons calling for the abolition of all consulates on the ground that they were injurious to trade, but it is not likely that a majority of the merchants were willing to go to such extremes.<sup>29</sup> When the question of the consulates was actually broached in the House, it was in milder form, and when a vote was reached, it was milder yet. On April 8, 1663, the House resolved: "That his Majesty be humbly desired by the House, That no Consulship be continued, or hereafter granted in any Place, but at the Desire of the Respective Merchants trading to that Place; and at such Allowances and Charges as the Merchants shall consent to give them."<sup>30</sup>

The king's reply was firm but conciliatory:

His Majesty finds, that the Nomination of Consuls, in the Factories abroad, hath always been in the Crown, and kept there; because, in most Parts, they are Agents, to maintain the Privileges of the Nation, and the Articles of Peace made for the Advantage of it: That, if His Majesty should grant what is desired to the Merchants here, it would manifestly disoblige the rest of the Kingdom, equally engaged in the Trade: However, His Majesty so far complieth with the Desires of his House of Commons, as to promise Care shall be taken to nominate none, but in such Places where they are precisely necessary; and with such Allowances as the Merchants shall think fit, in their respective Factories: And also that the said Consuls be Men fitly qualified, and acceptable to them.<sup>31</sup>

Here the controversy rested, with the merchants at peace about their right to fix the fees and to agree to the king's nominations, and the king reserving the initiative in consular appointments, a discretion as to new consulates, and the continuance in office of the consuls

<sup>29</sup> William Colston to Williamson, Apr. 25/[May 5], 1663. *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1663-1664, p. 120. There is no evidence of an intention to introduce a bill of such tenor reported in the *Commons' Journals*, so Colston may have received misleading reports of the action taken April 8. All merchants did not disapprove of consulates *per se*. The merchants trading to Naples and Sicily had petitioned in 1661 to have consuls sent out from England, or elected by the factors resident in the ports of those kingdoms. (Copy, Add. MSS., British Museum, 25115, f. 230.) Sir David English maintained that more than 100 merchants and masters of ships, in appreciation of his services, had petitioned for his reinstatement. To Lord Arlington, Dec. [1?]/11, 1665, *St. Pap., For., France*, 121, f. 194. The merchants trading to Flanders also petitioned for a consul in 1670 (p. 573, *infra*).

<sup>30</sup> *Commons' Journals*, VIII. 468. The resolution as originally reported to the House the previous day by the committee appointed to prepare sumptuary laws, and to prevent encroachments in trade by Jews, French, and other foreigners, asked "that no consulatory Power be continued, or hereafter granted, to any Persons, but at the Desire of the Merchants, and by their Nomination with his Majesty's Approbation; and at such Allowances and Salaries only as the Merchants shall consent to give them". *Ibid.*, pp. 467-468.

<sup>31</sup> May 16/[26], 1663. *Ibid.*, p. 485.

already appointed, provided they could induce the factories to accept them. Once thereafter during this reign the royal prerogative in regard to consular appointments was questioned, but then it was by two relatively unimportant factors in the Canary Islands. "It seems", wrote Secretary Coventry, "you pretend that in regard yo'r consent hath not been had for the choice of Mr. Owens person, therefore you will not acknowledge him, w'ch is an insolence his Maj'ty can no wayes endure, for I must tell you tho his Maj'ty be graciously pleas'd to hear the Merch'ts, in the Choice of a Consull . . . yet that way of proceeding is an act of Grace from his Maj'ty not of right to his Subjects, And he may where he pleases chose whom he thinks fit without their Concurrence."<sup>32</sup>

Here was a harsher assertion of the prerogative, but the London merchants, if it came to their knowledge, were not stirred to resist, as they had resisted fourteen years earlier. On that previous occasion Roundhead politics may have spiced their natural resentment at paying consular fees to support royal protégés who knew nothing of trade, and were Bristol men or Scots, at that. Actually, as the later history of the service shows, the Londoners were concerned only about the plummy, paying consulates, such as those of Lisbon and Cadiz, where there was a great trade.

The Cadiz appointment affords an amusing comment on the merits of merchants' consuls *versus* king's consuls, for, as we have seen, the merchants had made a great point of getting the king's man out and their own man in. Martin Westcombe proved to be an excellent political agent, but exorbitant and tyrannical in his dealings with the merchants, who soon cooled towards him, while the Secretary of State came to regard him with great cordiality, and lamented to the English ambassador at Madrid that "some Factious Merchants, ill Subjects to his Majesty, molest him much in his place, and deny his Consulage rights; upon which, his Majesty commands me to recommend it to your Excellency, to see him righted therein, resolving, if neither the admonitions, nor complaints to the Duke de Medina Celi will not be sufficient correction to them, to send for them to England, to answer for their misbehaviour".<sup>33</sup> Bundling the whole factory over to England was probably not as practicable as the secretary supposed. The merchants continued to grumble, even after the king signified his approval of Westcombe's services by knighting him, and raising his status to that of "agent", with re-

<sup>32</sup> Secretary Coventry to the Canary merchants, Clark and Raworth, Sept. 1/[11], 1677. (Copy.) P. R. O., C. O. 389: 11, pp. 146-147.

<sup>33</sup> To Sir R. Fanshaw, Sept. 10/[20], 1665. *Earl of Arlington's Letters* (1701), II. 90.



tention of his consulate.<sup>34</sup> In the end he was obliged to come to England and defend himself in a hearing before the Council. In spite of the royal tenderness he did not come off very well, for he was forced to renounce all his exactions save for a modest 150 reals per ship, and to promise not to force any master to receive a guard on board until consulage should be paid, nor require any other manifest of ships' ladings than the masters and merchants should offer. "And whereas the said 150 Ryalls per Ship is conceived not sufficient to mainteyne a Consul there . . . His Ma'ty doth hereby in an especiall manner recommend it to the aforesaid Merchants to settle upon him some further Allowances in such manner as they among themselves shall agree upon to be most proper and convenient."<sup>35</sup> It is doubtful whether the merchants accepted this invitation.

The consulates that remained by the indifference of the merchants in the king's gift were filled in haphazard fashion by "influence" in one shape or another, often by the English diplomatic representative in the country concerned; now and then on the suggestion of the factors. Occasionally an able and energetic man was hit upon, but not often. Still the English consulates never fell to the level of the French establishments in the Scales of the Levant, where the consuls were at best absentees, and at worst landlubber pirates or maritime robber-barons.<sup>36</sup> Most English consuls wanted to be pluralists, and a few succeeded in obtaining two consulates, one of which, and sometimes both, would be administered by deputy.<sup>37</sup> The consul appointed to the new Savoyard port of Villa Franca was not eager to reside at his post. "I doe not finde Mr. Pargiter very forward to goe thither", wrote an Englishman at Genoa, "and if he doeth, t'will be with a designe to keep out all others and make that trade a kind of monopoly, w'ch will not doe well."<sup>38</sup> Only too frequently did the consul's absorption in his private mercantile interests divert him from his duty. ". . . One thing would [*sic*] be looked to", wrote Lord Holles in his animadversions on consuls, "that whoever

<sup>34</sup> To Sir W. Godolphin, Oct 9/[19], 1671. *Earl of Arlington's Letters*, II., p. 336.

<sup>35</sup> July 28/[Aug. 7], 1675. Register of the Privy Council, Car. II., 2/64, p. 479.

<sup>36</sup> For the state of the French consulates in the reign of Louis XIV., see P. Masson, *Histoire du Commerce Français dans le Levant au XVIIe Siècle* (1896), pp. 77-92, 148-155, 262-268.

<sup>37</sup> Thus Joseph Kent and, after him, Charles Chillingworth held the consulates of Leghorn and Gallipoli, and Sir Clement Harby those of Zante and the Morea. Henry Rumbold sought to add the consulate of Malaga to that of Seville, although it is to-day a feat of some difficulty to get from the one place to the other.

<sup>38</sup> John Dodington to Williamson, May 8/18, 1670. St. Pap., For., Genoa, bundle 2.



is Consull should not himself be a trader, for his charity will begin at home to the prejudice of the rest.”<sup>39</sup> This was excellent advice, as many persons appreciated, but to carry it out would mean higher fees from the merchants, or preferably, salaries from the Exchequer, and neither was in the range of practical politics.<sup>40</sup>

Vexed indeed was the question of consulage. It was the chief argument of the merchants against having any consul at all. “. . . Certainly S’r what his Ma’ty will have me doe I shall to my uttmost”, wrote Holles when battle was joined over the Bordeaux consulate, “but I shall beseech his leave to say, that I doe not believe it is for his service to erect new Consulships, w’ch can not but be a charge to the merchant and so a burden and prejudice to trade, . . . any Consull is a certaine charge of two or three in the hundred upon merchandise, and no help to the merchant, for he is onely a solicitor to follow their busines, w’ch that merchant or factor that will either doe his busines himself, or perhaps hath little or none to doe, I know no reason why he should be putt to pay any thing, except he will himself.”<sup>41</sup> The Bordeaux factors seconded Lord Holles in the spirit of pessimism characteristic of their kind. They declared that the fees demanded by Sir David English would absorb the entire profits of both merchants and mariners, and would reach the enormous total of 5000 *l.* per annum; that trade was so bad now that this blow would finish it; or else their principals in the effort to evade consulage would employ Frenchmen instead of English factors, “and soe wee should bee all forc’d to retreate and leave the french to eate the bread out of our mouthes”.<sup>42</sup>

The king’s renunciation of the right to determine either the amount of consulage or the manner in which it was to be raised left every consul to make the best bargain he could with the merchants, masters, and factors on the spot. These were naturally intent on reducing consulage to the vanishing point. As no one could know what the fees and percentages of any consul came to in the course of a year except the consul himself, who generally understated it, there was no possibility of standardization. Naturally there were good years when the volume of trade afforded satisfactory returns in

<sup>39</sup> To Secretary Bennet, Apr. 12/22, 1664. *Ibid.*, France, 118, f. 159 v.

<sup>40</sup> Sir John Paul, consul at Elsinore in Denmark, did not engage in trade, nor, according to his own statement, did Sir Martin Westcombe. (See his letter to Sir R. Fanshaw of [April 22]/May 2, 1666. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report on the MSS. of J. M. Heathcote*, p. 248.) The consular service was not included in the civil service until 1825.

<sup>41</sup> Apr. 12/22, 1664. St. Pap., For., France, 118, f. 159.

<sup>42</sup> Protest of 15 factors of Bordeaux addressed to [Lord Holles?], May 13/23, 1664. *Ibid.*, ff. 197–198.

consulage, and bad years of war, pestilence, or some diversion of commerce, when the consul received little. Consulage at Genoa came to no more than 60 *l.* per annum;<sup>43</sup> at Cadiz and Lisbon it probably fell not far short of 1000 *l.* in good years. The more frequented Mediterranean ports may have returned a consulage varying between 300 *l.* and 750 *l.*<sup>44</sup>

The consuls were unremitting in complaint of the insufficiency of their fees. Some increased them arbitrarily, which of course provoked great uproar from the merchants and masters.<sup>45</sup> In 1675 many of the Mediterranean consuls were supplementing their consulage by the sale of "English" passports to foreign shipping to shelter it from the Algerines, with whom England enjoyed a precarious peace. They were severely rebuked by Secretary Coventry, and warned that if any offended in this way again, "His Ma'ty will make such Agent or Consul feeble the Uttermost effects of his Indignation".<sup>46</sup> Perhaps they did desist.

When merchants and consuls could not agree over consulage, the English ambassador, envoy, or resident would sometimes intervene in the interest of peace. In the last resort the consul would be summoned to a hearing before the Privy Council. In general the masters of ships wanted consulage levied solely on the value of merchandise carried; the merchants and factors preferred a blanket charge on every English ship, which would fall on the ship-owners and commanders; the consuls asked for a percentage of the value of the goods, a tax on the ship, and another percentage on the

<sup>43</sup> Charles Henshaw, consul at Genoa, to Secretary Bennet [Jan. 20?]/30, 1663/1664. St. Pap., For., Genoa, bundle 1.

<sup>44</sup> These figures are reached after consideration of a great deal of evidence scattered through the State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, for this reign, much of it of a highly recriminatory and contentious kind. The most important contribution to the subject is a "Noate of the Consullage Duty Leavyed by his Majestyes Consulls as followes", probably of 1672, drawn up by George Hayles, consul at Venice, in the effort to get his own consulage raised. He gives the following figures for the approximate yield of the more important consular positions: Cadiz, 1000 *l.*; Lisbon, 1000 *l.*; Smyrna, 750 *l.*; Tunis, 500 *l.*; Marseilles, 300 *l.*; Leghorn, 400 *l.* (C. O. 389: 5, p. 34.) Hayles's figures probably err on the rosy side, or consider only the best years.

<sup>45</sup> Thus Chillingworth at Leghorn tried to exact more consulage from large ships than from small; but the factory and the captains complained to Sir John Finch, the resident, who forced the consul to return to his former 10 crowns per ship, big or little. (Sir John Finch to Lord Arlington, Leghorn, Dec. 16/26, 1667. St. Pap., For., Tuscany, bundle 8.) The Levant Company petitioned for the revocation of the consul at Zante for his persistence in exacting an imposition on currants exported from Zante in English ships. [1669?] *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1668-1669, p. 646.

<sup>46</sup> Secretary Coventry to all consuls abroad, Jan. 10/[20], 1674/1675. (Copy.) St. Pap., For., Entry Book 185, f. 28.

freights. To any and all these methods there were objections. If the tax fell on ships, how to discriminate between large ships and small, laden and empty? If on the goods, were strangers' goods carried by English ships to pay, or only goods which were English-owned? If the consul who was himself a merchant were permitted to inspect the merchants' goods to ascertain their value for consulage, would he not learn all the precious secrets of their trade and thereby ruin them utterly?

All these objections and more were raised in a hearing before the Council of Trade in 1672 when Consul Hayles of Venice was endeavoring, in the face of much opposition from the Levant Company, to have his consulage shifted from ships to goods.<sup>47</sup> In the same year an order in Council determined the consulage to be exacted at Lisbon, on petition of Consul Maynard.<sup>48</sup> In 1674 and 1675 the Council was engaged in arbitrating the consulage of Sir Martin Westcombe at Cadiz.<sup>49</sup> Evidently the failure of consuls and merchants to agree was placing in the king's hands that right to fix the allowances of consuls which he had given up in 1663 in response to the address of the House of Commons.

It is also evident that strong-willed, hard-bitten consuls like Maynard and Westcombe were able to exact such fees as they assumed their services were worth, by refusing clearance until their demands were satisfied. True, the united resistance of the factory could bring them to book, but only through the inconvenient procedure of stating their case before the Lords of the Council, who were inclined to sympathize with the consuls. For the consuls preferred to regard themselves as the king's men, rather than the merchants', and secretaries of state favored stout-hearted, fighting consuls who could hold their own with the local authorities, and had enough political sense to act as intelligencers. Westcombe, wrote Lord Arlington to the English ambassador in Spain, "serves his

<sup>47</sup> Hayles's petition and the Order in Council, Oct. 30/[Nov. 9], 1672, on it are summarized in the *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1672-1673, p. 100, and Dec. 23/[Jan. 2], 1672/1673, *ibid.*, p. 303. There is much about this matter in vols. 42-43 of the Venetian Transcripts in the Record Office. The Council, acting on the recommendation of the Council of Trade, tried to force the Levant Company to agree to a consulage of a half ducat per ton of goods carried to Venice in English ships. The signory of Venice put an end to the controversy by refusing to allow a duty on goods which would be paid in part by Venetian subjects. Sir Thomas Higgins, resident at Venice, to Secretary Coventry, Venice, Dec. [18?]/28, 1674. Add. MSS. 32094, f. 334 v.

<sup>48</sup> Feb. 23/[Mar. 4], 1671/1672, Register of the Privy Council, Car. II., 2/63, p. 180. Hearing ordered on the petition of Maynard, Mar. 8/[18], 1671/1672. *Ibid.*, p. 189; the hearing ended with the king's "declaration" fixing the fees.

<sup>49</sup> P. 56, *supra*.

Majesty very well there, with relation to Tangier, and his Correspondence with you".<sup>50</sup> Consul Thomas Maynard at Lisbon, originally an appointee of Cromwell, was cordially disliked both by the English merchants in Portugal, and by the Portuguese government. "He makes nothing of breach of patent", wrote a member of the Lisbon factory, "giving himself titles and styles never allowed him, naming himself agent and giving his two votes in elections, as if [he] were an absolute prince, whose spiring mind and ambitious heart suits no subject, much less to so mean a quality."<sup>51</sup> But the summons which called Maynard to England to answer the charges of the Portuguese court was very gently worded: "Haveing beene frequently pressed to your Revocation . . . Wee have now at last agreed to it, not without some reluctancy, because Wee are still perswaded that You have behaved your selfe well in Our Service in all occasions that have presented."<sup>52</sup> This may have been due to the intercession of Sir Robert Southwell, envoy to Portugal, who wrote in his defense: "I dare adventure to send your Lordshipp this guesse that his fault here will bee his Vertue there; for Knowing his businesse and this Country very well, he Earnestly pursued the advantages of his Majestyes treaty, and Articles, which some here would often have forgotten. Soe that if he bee not on some occasions complained off from hence, the Exchange of London are likely to cry aloud against him, and for ought I can perceive the man understands himselfe, and the world too well, to run into any unnecessary Errours, and I thinke he is very fitt and Equall to the Employment he beares."<sup>53</sup>

After the gentle thunder of his recall, it is not surprising that Maynard was cleared and returned triumphantly to his post; nor that, when he was summoned to England again in 1668, this time to answer the factory's accusations, the Council should find that the clamor proceeded from a few seditious spirits among the factors, seeking to obtain the consulate for one of their own number.<sup>54</sup> Another voyage to England secured him the consul-generalcy of Portugal for life, against powerful competition, and this time he returned in such ebullient humor "that the last weeke he gave a grave and

<sup>50</sup> To Sir R. Fanshaw, Sept. 10/[20], 1665. *Earl of Arlington's Letters*, II. 90.

<sup>51</sup> "A demonstration to show your Excellency how the Consul do follow the steps of his old master Cromwell, the great traitor and usurper", Mar. [5?]/15, 1662/1663. The writer was Robert Cocke, and the "demonstration" was addressed to Sir R. Fanshaw. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report on the MSS. of J. M. Heathcote*, pp. 66-68.

<sup>52</sup> Dec. 20/[30], 1665. (Copy.) Add. MSS. 34336, f. 14 v.

<sup>53</sup> To Lord Arlington, Jan. 25/Feb. 4, 1665/1666. (Copy.) *Ibid.*, f. 27.

<sup>54</sup> Dec. 9/[19], 1668. Register of the Privy Council, Car. II., 2/61, pp. 132-133.

sober Master of a ship a box on the eare in open street for telling him he would protest against him if he would not give him his dispatches".<sup>55</sup> "His greatest friends behind his back sweare there's not such a villain in nature", declared one who was very eager to step into his shoes.<sup>56</sup>

In return for their fees and percentages the consuls were expected to perform a long list of services as occasion should arise. Probably the oldest consular function was the judicial one of determining disputes between merchants in the English factory, or between merchants and masters of English ships, or between the masters and their seamen. In dealing with the local government they were the official spokesmen of their factories and of English merchants trading to their ports, and were procurators for persons in England to secure their rights and property. It was their duty to take charge of the estates of Englishmen dying in the regions served by them, and to obtain recognition of the rights of heirs. When the deceased left no will, the consuls appointed executors. They assisted English masters in rounding up their crews after shore leave, and prevented, when they could, commanders of foreign ships from luring English seamen into their service. They helped merchants to fulfill customs formalities, clear ships, and collect debts. They arranged for the return to England of English mariners who had escaped from captured or shipwrecked vessels, or from slavery in Algiers. In general they were expected to stand between the Englishman in a foreign land and native fraud and oppression, and to secure to him all the civil and religious rights to which he was entitled by treaty, or by that hopeless illusion, the Law of Nations. They were supposed to communicate all matters of importance occurring in their spheres to the English ambassador in residence, if such there were, and to the Secretary of State. In time of war they must report the movements of the enemy in their vicinity, warn English merchantmen of dangers they might encounter in near-by waters, induce them to wait for convoy, issue passports, commission privateers, assist in the disposal of prizes that might be brought into their ports by English

<sup>55</sup> Francis Parry to Southwell, May 25/June 4, 1675. Add. MSS. 35099, f. 164.

<sup>56</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Aug. 17/27, 1675. *Ibid.*, f. 180. Parry was resident and later envoy to the Prince of Portugal. He had secured by covenant with Sir Robert Southwell the reversion of Maynard's consulate, and was naturally anxious to hasten his retirement. ("Articles of Agreement betweene S'r Robert Southwell K. Clarke of his Ma'ty's most Hon'ble Privy Councill and Francis Parry Esq'r Envoy for his Ma'ty in the Court of Portugal", Feb. 15/25, 1677/1678. *Ibid.*, f. 200.) This seems to have followed an earlier agreement, for the reversion was granted to Parry in 1674, June 13/[23], 1674. *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1673-1675, p. 282.

men-of-war, and give assistance to the English fleet or any part of it that should come their way.

The consuls in Barbary had the difficult tasks of persuading beys, deys, and pashas to keep their piratical subjects from falling upon English shipping contrary to the articles of peace, and of negotiating the release of English ships and crews. One Bradley, who had served as consul in Tripoli, drew up a paper in 1676, which is endorsed as "Consideracions touching the necessary Qualificacions of a Consul and the necessity of enlarging their Sallaries". It is important, he thinks, to select a suitable person, for the Mediterranean trade is of great value, and peace or war often hangs on the consul's management: to save a trifle on salary may work heavy loss to the merchants and to the crown. The consul should understand several languages, so that on occasions he may speak for himself, for his dragoman will not always dare to say what the consul commands him. He should understand merchandising, as on any difference between Christian and Jewish merchants the dey will send them to the consul for a decision. He must be bold and resolute in speaking, for otherwise the Turks will not respect him. He must be liberal, generous, and free, for the honor of his prince, and to impress the Turks. He should not trade, but should live on his allowance. In so doing he will not only be more respected by the Turks, but will be more impartial in his acts, and free from disputes and suits over his own affairs.<sup>57</sup>

If all this sounds relatively easy, the consuls were far from finding it so. The conditions under which trade was carried on in the seventeenth century can with difficulty be imagined in the twentieth. The alien was then fair game to the native, and there was no form of fraud, extortion, interference, or oppression, whose possibilities were not essayed against the stranger. The latter invoked his legal and treaty rights but these did not carry him far, and he was accustomed to supplement them with wits and cheek. The English merchant of this time was truly a tough customer. His heart like that of the English seaman may have been of oak, but his conscience was even more oaken: he was an expert smuggler, a high-hearted profiteer, an unrepentant dealer in contraband, an exporter of coin and bullion contrary to law, and by no means unversed in the dark arts by which persons who must be squared are squared. The masters matched the merchants in audacity and duplicity. The consuls, placed between the upper and nether millstones, escaped being crushed only by their own superior hardness.

<sup>57</sup> Dec. 5/[15?], 1676. Rawlinson MSS. A (Bodleian Library), 185, f. 175.



Sir John Paul was consul and resident at Elsinore in 1675, his business being to get English ships through the Sound with a minimum of delay and cost. As Sweden and Denmark were at war, the passage of Swedish goods through the Sound was forbidden by the King of Denmark, but the naughty English skippers came sailing in to be cleared, laden all too obviously with Swedish goods. "The masters what by ther neglect and I may say some by wilfull mistacke puts mee to great trouble to gett ther goods Released w'ch is seized upon. I have gotten them all cleared to there contents. Though I cannot allwayes promise my selfe the same good successe yet shall use my Indevoure. I am fearfull they will give me worcke anoffe this summer Though I cause them to be advertized to enter all there gouds. Neverlesse they will steall custume and put the march'ts gouds in hazard for a littell spending money for themselves."<sup>58</sup> Sir John did have "worcke anoffe". It was, he wrote, "noe small thinge to content 438 maisters of shipps and there seamen and to Corospond w'th all our march'ts in the Eastern parts".<sup>59</sup> "I finde that our march'ts and ther Letters will give mee dailey Employ'm't Shipps that hath been brought up here neere 3 months they now send me a lest and letters to claime there Intrests."<sup>60</sup> "I never see any end of the dailly trouble our March'ts and masters gives mee for getting a lettill profit they will hazard att all. I have given them my advice not to lade in strang vessells nor to lade such comodities as this crown might chalang for contraband: but if profit blinds them soe much that all advice they Reject."<sup>61</sup> "I am forced to post to and fro to dispatch our masters and to agree them and ther seamen w'ch is ane Endlesse trouble besids the charge."<sup>62</sup>

In theory the merchant carried on his trade under the benefit of commercial treaties concluded by his government with other states. Some of these were very good treaties—on paper. But the better they were from the English point of view, the less likelihood was there that the other contracting party would bestir himself to see that the articles were translated, published, and observed. When

<sup>58</sup> Sir John Paul to Secretary Williamson, Apr. 3/13, 1675. St. Pap., For., Denmark, 20, f. 43v-44.

<sup>59</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Dec. 7/17, 1675. *Ibid.*, f. 201.

<sup>60</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Dec. [11?]/21, 1675. *Ibid.*, f. 210.

<sup>61</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Dec. [18/28?], 1675. *Ibid.*, f. 213v-214.

<sup>62</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, May 30/[June 9?], 1676. *Ibid.*, f. 395. In the end Consul Paul's difficulties overwhelmed him. The merchants, Secretary Williamson wrote, were complaining of his slowness in procuring redress of their grievances from the Danish officials. Nov. 3/[13], 1677. (Copy.) St. Pap., For., Entry Book 1, p. 93. On Feb. 4/14, 1678/1679, he was recalled. Charles II. to Sir John Paul. (Copy.) *Ibid.*, p. 117.



Thomas Maynard demanded the fulfilment of the treaty with Portugal, "I am answered that though such articles were agreed upon yet the king my sovaine never intended thire should be required an exacte performance, and that they have writen to the king for a Mitigation of the Articles".<sup>63</sup> Maynard had a stormy interview with the Portuguese Secretary of State. To the consul's complaint that, contrary to the treaty, English merchants were obstructed in the recovery of debts owed by prisoners of the Inquisition, the secretary interrupted him: "I tell you the king cann doe noe More, and if you will not bee contented w'th such Justice as is adminestred by the tribunals of the kingdome, where the king orders you to require yo'r Justice, get it where you cann." Maynard proceeded to the grievances of English merchants against the Portuguese customers, but the secretary who was now enjoying his rage replied: "Here is noe Remedy but the king must burne all his Counselors and Judges, to satisfie Inglish Merchants: whoe thinke noe man understands the treaty of peace but themselves." To the reminder that the treaty limited the number of watchers that a customs official could put aboard an English ship at the master's charge, the answer was "that twenty guards were little enough to keepe the Inglish from stealinge Custome, and therefore it did concerne the King to secure his Customes".<sup>64</sup> In Spain there was greater profession of good-will towards observance of the treaty of 1667, but a year after it was signed the English at Cadiz were complaining that it was violated daily,<sup>65</sup> and Consul Westcombe was kept very busy presenting the grievances of his countrymen. Though the treaty safeguarded the English merchants in the quiet possession of their domiciles and their books, it did not restrain the viceroy of Valencia in 1673 from ordering a raid on the English in Alicante. A band of some twenty armed men burst into their houses, ransacked them for contraband, and carried away their books.<sup>66</sup> Though there was little English trade to the poor province of Galicia, Sir William Godolphin, English ambassador in Spain, thought it necessary to have a consul at Coruña, "to give the Assistance requisite to the English ships that put in frequently there, and stand always in need of some Expert Man to

<sup>63</sup> Maynard to Clarendon, Aug. [?], 1663. Clarendon MSS. (Bodleian Library), 80, f. 108.

<sup>64</sup> "The Greivances of the Inglish Merchants resident in the Kingdome of Portugall" sent by Maynard to the Earl of Clarendon, [May 29?]/June 8, 1664. *Ibid.*, 81, f. 268v-271.

<sup>65</sup> "Advices received", Apr. 9/[19], 1668. *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1667-1668, p. 366.

<sup>66</sup> Anthony Basset and Josiah Cranford to ———, [Aug. 27?]/Sept. 6, 1676. (Copy.) C. O. 389: 11, p. 64.

appear for them on occasions before the Capt. General, who Commands there, and is an Enemy to our Nation; insomuch as I have more complaints on Injuries under his Government, than from all the others of Spain".<sup>67</sup>

Another difficulty of the consuls was that the customs officers preferred to treat the books of rates, in which duties were listed, as professional secrets. An English master complained to Sir John Paul at Elsinore that he had been forced by the Danish customers to pay double the usual tolls. "Wherupon", said the consul, "I sent to the Custumhouse to have the particular Wherfor hee paid it. Ther ansuer was they wold give non beinge It had never been acustumed hiertofore onely they tell the master In one sune what hee must paye w'h must bee accordingly obeyed. Ther Is no Boocks of Raits permitted to bee printed nor non to have any Except those of the Custumhouse. Wherupon they ground ther Bussines that non can come to the Knowledge whether they doe Right or wronge."<sup>68</sup>

It was not in reason that governments should regard with indifference the establishment of foreign consuls in their ports, with a jurisdiction independent of their courts and wide powers of interference. One is not surprised to learn that, during the reign of Charles II., the English consul in the Canary Islands was banished; the consuls in Madeira and Cadiz were imprisoned—the latter repeatedly; the one in Algiers was killed. In Turkey and Barbary consuls were looked upon as hostages-in-chief answerable for all the misdemeanors of their countrymen. It was perhaps for this reason that the Pasha of Tripoli was annoyed when the English consul, to whom he had kindly given leave of absence to settle his affairs in England, did not return. Finally he declared war to avenge the slight.<sup>69</sup> The Duke of Medina Celi, captain-general of Andalusia, took the same view of Consul Westcombe's utility for, as the Secretary of State explained, "when any of our Captains do any Irregularity at Sea, or anything that is understood to be so; the Duke of Medina Celi puts him into Prison".<sup>70</sup> In addition Westcombe had to submit to repeated visitations of his house on the pretext of search for contraband, though it was known that he did not engage in trade;

<sup>67</sup> Sir William Godolphin to Mr. Richards, Dec. 1/[11], 1669. *Hispania Illustrata* (1703), pp. 116-117.

<sup>68</sup> Consul Paul to Lord Arlington, Mar. [21]/31, 1667/1668. St. Pap., For., Denmark, 18, f. 227v-228.

<sup>69</sup> Sir T. Allin to Williamson, Dec. 25/Jan. 4, 1668/1669. *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1668-1669, p. 116. H. Muddiman to Thos. Bond of Hereford, June 9/[19], 1670. *Ibid.*, 1670, p. 264.

<sup>70</sup> To the Earl of Sandwich, Aug. 2/[12], 1666. *Earl of Arlington's Letters*, II. 185.

and to summons on the mere caprice of the duke. "I have sometimes been sent for by the Duke to St. Mary Port, kept two or three days, and then merely told by his secretary that the Duke esteemed my care in coming but had nothing to say to me, while all the time, ships and matters of commerce were urgently needing my assistance, . . . A Consul cannot duly execute his charge if he be liable to any Duke or Governor that may either disturb him upon design or mere fancy, for I humbly conceive, my Lord, that Consuls ought to be free and absolute in their ways that are just and warrantable."<sup>71</sup>

The attitude of Louis XIV. towards foreign consuls changed considerably after Colbert was in the saddle. The king had been willing to oblige Charles II. in confirming the appointment of Sir David English, but two years later he was hindering the expansion of the Dutch consular service in France,<sup>72</sup> and trying to force all foreign merchants to use French brokers for such commercial assistance as they should need, and to pay a tax of one per cent. on all imports, for their maintenance.<sup>73</sup> On diplomatic protest, the French brokers were dropped, but Louis continued to be cautious about admitting foreign consuls. Colbert delayed recognizing Francis Hereford as consul at Dunkirk in spite of remonstrances from Charles II.,<sup>74</sup> and there seem to have been other cases for on November 29, 1676, the Register of the Privy Council records that "His Ma'ty having rec'd Information of the great Prejudice and Inconvenience his Subjects do and may receive in their Trade with France for want

<sup>71</sup> Martin Westcombe to Sir R. Fanshaw, June [11]/21, 1665. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report on the MSS. of J. M. Heathcote*, pp. 195-196.

<sup>72</sup> This expansion was urgently recommended by the Dutch ambassador in France, William Boreel, as a remedy for the constant obstructions and extortions to which the Netherlanders' trade was being subjected. [Aug. 28]/Sept. 7, 1663. *Brieven . . . Johan de Witt* (1723), I. 673. The Dutch were entitled by their treaty of 1662 to maintain consuls in France "aux lieux et endroits où de commun consentement il sera jugé nécessaire". Aitzema, *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh* (1669), IV. 868, art. XLVII. Naturally this afforded Colbert a pretext for refusing to allow the establishment of new consulates. Elzinga, *Het Voorspel van den Oorlog van 1672* (1926), p. 206; Archibald Bacquoy who is the spy, Theodore de Ruyven, to Williamson, May 3/[13], 1664, St. Pap., For., Holland, 170, f. 106. Even after the Peace of Nymwegen Colbert would not permit a Dutch consul in Marseilles until it should be proved that they had had one there in the past. To M. Rouillé, intendant at Aix, Oct. [16]/26, 1679. *Lettres, Instructions, et Mémoires de Colbert*, ed. P. Clément (1861-1882), II. 706.

<sup>73</sup> Holles to Bennet, Apr. 24/May 4, June 12/22, 1664. St. Pap., For., France, 118, ff. 170, 255. Earlier attempts of this kind to supply foreign merchants with native consuls, or officials of this type, had been made by Philip IV. in Spain and Naples. Propositions for a treaty with Spain, 1661. (Add. MSS. 25115, Entry Book of the Council of Trade, f. 254.) Petition of the Merchants trading to the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, 1661. (*Ibid.*, f. 230.)

<sup>74</sup> Nov. 19/[29], 1675. Register of the Privy Council, Car. II., 2/65, p. 39.

of Consuls in many Places of that Kingdome, And that the Consuls who have been appointed by his Ma'ty in some of the Ports there are refused to be admitted and negotiate under that Character", it is ordered therefore that Secretary Coventry remonstrate with the French ambassador, and Ambassador Montague with the French court, to the end "that the English Consulls may be received and established in such places within that Kingdome, as shalbe found most proper and convenient for the accommodation of his Ma'ts Subjects in their Trade in those ports".<sup>75</sup> This led to a skillful move on the part of Colbert. He ordered the intendants in the various ports to stir up the English factories to oppose the consulates, not without some success.<sup>76</sup> Louis for his part never yielded the point, and to the end of the century English consuls had no official standing in France—a serious handicap in the performance of their duties.<sup>77</sup>

Nevertheless consuls were becoming necessary evils. The treaty of 1667 between England and Spain had allowed Charles II. the right to appoint one in Flanders, but he had not immediately done so. In 1670, however, thirteen merchants trading to Ostend, Nieuport, and Bruges signed a request to have a consul appointed to countenance English trade and procure redress for all abuses and obstructions in commerce, "more particularly as the States General have lately placed one there". They recommended one Stephen Lynch as a man of integrity, skilled in languages, laws, and customs, and a resident of Ostend for seven or eight years.<sup>78</sup> He was accordingly

<sup>75</sup> Nov. 29/[Dec. 9], 1676. *Ibid.*, p. 389.

<sup>76</sup> Andrew Stuckes to George Toriano, Sept. 9/19, 1677. (Copy.) St. Pap., For., France, 142, f. 135.

<sup>77</sup> "I gave an account to Secretary Coventry lately of several dry negatives to most just demands of ours from M. de Pomponne with whom I spoke about several affairs. They will not admit of English consuls in their trading ports, a thing that hath been stipulated with Holland in former treaties. The only reason I can imagine why they use us so differently is their Arbitrary way of using merchants and seamen, . . . and this would be prevented by a watchful consul, who might from many particular grievances raise complaints and procure redress." (J. Brisbane to the Earl of Danby [Sept. 1677], Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Report*, App. IX., MSS. of the Earl of Lindsey, p. 386.) "I have represented what you say of Mr. Burrows to his Majesty, who directs me to tell you that he knows difficulty has been made in France from time to time about the admission of Consuls, which he sees no good reason for, but till such time as it can be otherwise settled, he intends Mr. Burrows should exercise the Consulate in such manner as his predecessor." Robert, Earl of Sunderland, to Sir William Trumbull, Whitehall, May 3/[13], 1686. *Ibid.*, *Report on the MSS. of the Marquess of Downshire*, vol. I., *Papers of Sir William Trumbull*, pt. I., p. 162.

The refusal to recognize English consuls may have been justified on the score that the English had no treaty right to establish consuls, as the Dutch had by the treaty of 1662. But England was entitled to most favored nation treatment, and therefore to consuls on the same basis as the Dutch had them.

<sup>78</sup> Nov. 10/[20], 1670. *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1670, p. 522.

appointed, but the governor general of the Spanish Netherlands put off recognizing him on one pretext or another. The matter dragged for several years, then in 1674 it became suddenly important, for England had withdrawn from the war between France and the Dutch republic, and Spain had entered it. English ships were being carried into Flemish ports on the ground that they were trading to France, as they were being carried into French ports for trading with the Dutch and the Spaniards. It was necessary to have an English consul in Flanders to obtain the release of English ships and goods, as well as to free English merchants from restrictions laid upon their trade by the jealous Flemish cities. But the magistrates of Ostend were bitterly opposed to the recognition of Lynch. "They of Ostend", runs "The humble Complaint of the Traders into Brabant and Flanders", "oppose the settling of a Consul although on no other ground than because the present Consul hath been a Reclaimer and hath acted for the Marchants and opposed them people in their unjust bringing up English ships and goods, yet they allow a Dutch Consul."<sup>79</sup> On the recommendation of the Committee for Trade, the Privy Council ordered that recognition be refused to the Flemish consul in England, Emanuel Fonseca.<sup>80</sup> This made an impression on the Duke of Villa Hermosa, as Fonseca, under the insufficient disguise of his consular character, was a useful political agent, so Lynch obtained his confirmation after four years' delay.

It is significant that the two greatest commercial nations maintained no consuls in each other's ports at this time. Both made use of agents on emergency, to assist their nationals in the prosecution of their legal rights, but these had no official status or recognition in the country to which they were sent.<sup>81</sup> The Dutch towns were, in fact, as discouraging towards the establishment of foreign consulates as it was possible for them to be, though the Dutch consular service was more extensive than that of any other country.<sup>82</sup> There were

<sup>79</sup> June 16/[26], 1675. St. Pap., For., Flanders, 45, f. 272.

<sup>80</sup> July 28/[Aug. 7], 1675. Privy Council Register, Car. II., 2/64, p. 478.

<sup>81</sup> A Dutch lawyer, Gerbrandt Zas, was commissioned "advocate" for the English merchants in the United Provinces, and achieved some unpopularity among his countrymen by acting in this capacity. Intelligence letter, rec'd May 7/[17], 1661. Secretary Nicholas has indorsed this letter illegibly with a name. St. Pap., For., Holland, 164, ff. 54-55; Aitzema, IV. 507-508. One James Nipho served temporarily as agent in Middelburg, and Sir William Davidson was royal commissary at Amsterdam, though what he did in that capacity is not clear.

<sup>82</sup> The Dutch did not suffer gladly the activities of the French and Spanish consuls at Amsterdam. See Wicquefort's letter to Queen Christina, Aug. [16]/26, 1652, in Colenbrander, *Bescheiden uit vreemde Archieven omtrent de Groote Nederlandsche Zeeoorlogen* (1919), I. 14; also the resentment displayed by the

occasional proposals to set up English consuls in the United Provinces, usually put forward by persons wishing to serve in that capacity. These were rather more frequent after 1674, partly because of the difficulties encountered by English ships as neutral carriers in a world at war, and partly because of the increasingly protective trend of Dutch commercial legislation in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, which English merchants professed to regard as infringing their treaty privileges. The short reign of James II. saw an attempt to establish English consuls at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, in spite of protests from merchants of both cities interested in the English trade. Dutch objection was as lively as English, for though, by reason of the Navigation Acts, most of the trade was carried in ships actually or colorably English, a large part of it was on Dutch accounts. The merchants of Amsterdam in a memorial to the burgomasters and council declared that the privilege of establishing consuls in England would be of slight value by reason of the Navigation Acts; that the propinquity of the two lands made consuls unnecessary; that foreigners received as good and as prompt justice in the ordinary courts as did natives, and that it would be a stigma upon those courts to withdraw foreigners from their jurisdiction; that there were really no services which consuls could render masters of ships to earn their fees; that these fees, once allowed, would surely be increased by the consuls at the first opportunity, to the injury of trade. "Moreover the consuls force skippers to show their manifests, passports and papers, whereby the secrets of trade in general, an[d] of every merchant in particular will be revealed; of which the consuls will be apt to make use for their own benefit, or communicate them to their friends, and so appropriate them."<sup>83</sup> This last possibility was nightmare to all good merchants. The consuls appointed by James II. promptly involved themselves in quarrels with the merchants over fees, and their commissions were revoked by William and Mary.

The objection to foreign consulates which, in view of later developments of consular services in the Near East, we should expect governments to urge most seriously—that they established judicial extra-territoriality for the foreign factories—was not made much

Chamber of Commerce of Amsterdam against the Spanish consul, in Brugmans, "De Notulen en Munimenten van het College van Commerce te Amsterdam, 1663-1665", in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, XVIII. (1897) 181-330, *passim*. In 1656 the Dutch had resisted stoutly the English proposal for a joint commission of conservators of commerce. *Brieven . . . Johan de Witt* (1723), III. 236, 253, 261.

<sup>83</sup> Translated from the Dutch original in *Portefeuille Handel 1* (Archief der Burgemeesteren, Amsterdam).



of, though there are occasional allusions to it, as in the memorial just mentioned. This may have been because extra-territoriality for the courts or factories of foreign mercantile associations or companies, such as the Steelyard in London, for instance, had been commonly admitted in Europe in the past, though it was now being withdrawn. But chiefly, one supposes, it was because consular jurisdiction in the Christian countries of Europe was not highly appreciated by the consuls' own nationals, who often preferred to take the hazards of justice purveyed by the ordinary courts of the country. One of the arguments of the English factors at Bordeaux against a consulate had been that

wee have the Courts of judicature soe open and favourable both to merchants and mariners, as to any of this nation, soe that there is noe cause, neither hath there binne ever any complaint of the defect, w'ch on the contrary should wee have a new Court of Consulshipp established amongst us (In the presidency of w'ch S'r david English would bee little avaylable) wee should soone find sinister Events and instead of protection and furtherance, nothing but losse and detriment, in that the ordinary Courts of justice here would undoubtedly arme their spleene against us, for Clippinge their Priviledges by such an unnecessary and noxious novelty. Soe that whereas now the Courts of Admiralty and the Burse are open and free unto us for the speedy termininge of all our occasionall differences, (and if any of a nationall concernment, wee have usually our immediate recourse to his Maj'ties Ambassadors) wee should then bee delayd and put off upon every small concerne to waite for our redresse from the Councell at paris, wch would bee an Extraordinary prejudice and hindrance to our merchantile affaires.<sup>84</sup>

This is a handsome tribute to the courts of Bordeaux, and it is not strange that the Cour des Aides came to the assistance of the factors. It would be interesting to know whether they would have said the same after Colbert's policy of bedevilling foreign merchants had taken a fair start; or after 1674, when English shipping was being preyed upon by French corsairs with no discouragement from the French courts of admiralty; or after 1685, when foreign Protestants were in nearly as hard case as the Huguenots.

If the English consuls in France and Italy had jurisdiction over their countrymen, it probably went no further in practice—if it went so far—than an informal arbitration.<sup>85</sup> The consul in Genoa com-

<sup>84</sup> Protest of 15 factors of Bordeaux to [Lord Holles?], May 13/23, 1664. St. Pap., For., France, 118, f. 197.

<sup>85</sup> Power to determine disputes is mentioned in a copy of Sir David English's commission to be consul at Bordeaux (Aug. 14/[24], 1662, *ibid.*, 116, ff. 47-48); also in a copy of Codgill's commission to be consul at Marseilles, Feb. 16/[26], 1662/1663. *Ibid.*, Entry Book, 173, pp. 57-59. But the merchants trading to Marseilles advanced as an argument to reduce consulage "that this Consull in Marseilles hath not the power of hearing and determining of causes of the Eng-



plained of the omission of judicial power from his patent,<sup>86</sup> and though the factory at Leghorn had a ruinous love of litigation they used the Tuscan courts.<sup>87</sup> In Spain Sir Martin Westcombe sued some of the merchants who refused to pay the fees he demanded, in the Spanish courts "to the great trouble and charge of the defendants", who wished to carry the matter directly before the English King in Council.<sup>88</sup> In the Canaries too the English factors carried their disputes to the local court of the islands.<sup>89</sup> In explanation of this neglect of consular jurisdiction it may be suggested that the consuls were nearly all men untrained in the law, and not invariably endowed with the judicial temperament. Several were Scots, and therefore unfamiliar with English law, though all trading consuls must have had a working knowledge of law-merchant. A few were of limited literacy. Since the consuls were competitors of the merchants and factors for trade, their justice was likely to be suspect. Their jurisdiction extended only to cases between Englishman and Englishman; cases involving natives were justiciable only in the native courts.

In the type of suit last mentioned, the English residents in Spain and Portugal enjoyed a safeguard in the right to choose a judge conservator from among the native judiciary, in whose court all cases involving Englishmen must be determined. One would expect this privilege to be highly valued in countries where foreign and Protestant sojourners were exposed to many forms of oppression,

lish, as those Consuls of the Turkey Company have; But all differences are onely cognizable in the Courts of Judicature of the French Kinge and other the respective Princes and States under which the same are". June 28/[July 8], 1661. Register of the Privy Council, Car. II., 2/55, p. 277.

<sup>86</sup> Charles Henshaw, consul at Genoa, to [Williamson?], Oct. 27/Nov. 6, 1663. St. Pap., For., Genoa, bundle 1.

<sup>87</sup> "I find that all the factory of Livorno ruine themselves by suits in law at this Court, where the method of the Court proceedings is to take as long as either party can give; and that the Orange may be fully squeez'd to grant at any time after judgem't a revision; as long as either Playntiff or Deffendant can give; but they being draind dry all ends in a Reference dividing the Pretensions equally between them. . . . I humbly propound to yo'r Lop: . . . that an Order might be made enjoyning his Ma'ties Subjects to referr all differences that happen to some of their own Nation, and they not agreeing to the Resident as Umpire either of wch Sentences should be without appeal on this side the seas but capable allwayes of a revision in England that his Ma'ties Subjects might be governed by his Ma'ties Laws." Sir John Finch to Lord Arlington, Florence, July 4/14, 1665. *Ibid.*, Tuscany, bundle 6.

<sup>88</sup> John Gardner, Thomas Goddard, and four other Spanish merchants to Sir Robert Southwell, Mar. 4/[14], 1673/1674. *Cal. St. Pap., Dom.*, 1673-1675, p. 190.

<sup>89</sup> Charles II. to Richard Owen, consul in the Canary Islands, Nov. 10/[20], 1677. C. O. 389: 11, pp. 144-145.

but it seems to have been languidly regarded in Portugal, and some of the Lisbon factory advocated having no conservator.<sup>90</sup>

Clearly the consuls as public servants were most unsatisfactory, though it is as clear that not all the faults were theirs. Nevertheless the service was expanding during the reign of Charles II. because, in the difficulties which trade had then to meet, some such institution was required. The number of consuls increased rapidly after 1664 because of the dangers to which English commerce was exposed by the Dutch wars, and later by the French corsairs. Other factors were the rapid development of English trade, particularly after 1674, and the government's need of the consulates to supply, at no expense to the Exchequer, political, naval, and commercial information. Consulates existed in some thirty-four or more foreign ports in the reign of Charles II., though some were filled intermittently, and some were short lived.<sup>91</sup> It is not likely that at the end of the reign any one thought of abolishing the service, root and branch, as certain irritated London merchants had proposed to do in 1663.

#### VIOLET BARBOUR.

<sup>90</sup> "I doubt not but that things for the future will be well regulated as to trade; esppecially if our Contreymen could be all of one mind in things touching their well being. The Treaty gives them a Conservator to Judg all their Causes, w<sup>ch</sup> is noe doubt of very great use to them supporting them in that part of their businesse w<sup>ch</sup> is of most difficulty, to witt recovering their debts speedily and w<sup>th</sup> ease, yet these good men even in this can not agree but are divided in their opinions soe much that a great part of them are against the Conservatorship it selfe, and of those who are for having a Conservator the greatest part are against this nor will it be possible to find any one man living that shall please any Considerable part of them. this unsettlednesse in these men and theyr frequent appealing from the Court of their Conservator, to the Comon Courts, is the true grownd why the Portuguezes of late nedglect the Conservator and his Court, suing English men in other Courts on pretence of severall Priviledges; to the troble of factors here and losse of their masters in England." R. Russell to Clarendon, Lisbon, May [5?]15, 1665. Clarendon MSS., Bodleian Library, 83, f. 126.

<sup>91</sup> I have not found any complete list of consular establishments in this reign. There are two lists in Williamson's hand in the State Papers, Domestic, one of Nov. 24/[Dec. 4], 1665 (137, ff. 183-184), and the second of the year 1668/1669, but not exactly dated (258, ff. 82-83). The first mentions 13 consulates and six agencies; the second, 14 consulates. They were not, I think, intended to be complete. I have come across consulates established at one time or another during the reign at the following places: Elsinore, Ostend, Dunkirk, Bordeaux and Rochelle, Bayonne, Bilbao and San Sebastian, Gijon, Coruña and Pontevedra, Oporto (vice-consulate), Lisbon, Madeira, Canaries, Cadiz and Porto Santa Maria, Seville and San Lucar, Malaga, Alicante, Majorca, Santa Cruz in South Barbary, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Marseilles and Toulon, Villa Franca and Nice, Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, Messina with Malta and the Lipari Is., Gallipoli (Apulia), Zante, the Morea, Venice, Cyprus, Smyrna, Aleppo, Cairo (not officially recognized). There were, besides, agents of a somewhat consular character, temporary or permanent, at Rouen, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Middelburg, Danzig, and Hamburg.

## THE IRISH MIGRATION OF THE 'FORTIES

OF the Irish migration to North America between 1840 and 1850 it is generally known that a potato famine of unprecedented severity was responsible for the movement in the latter part of the decade, and the vividness of that experience for all concerned has obscured the character of the migration which took place earlier in the period. All official reports indicate that the number of Irish migrants far outran the English and Scottish together; but a study of routes then used and the letters of English port officials indicate that even the large numbers shown in official statistics understate the extent of the Irish emigration to America. The most careful comparative study of the various records fails to give any final accurate measurement of the movement, but corrections made according to the suggestions of these port officials remove much of the discrepancy between the British and the United States reports.

Before any true story of the Irish migrations of modern times can be written, it is necessary to see that movement, itself part of a wider Celtic shifting, in its relation to the long story of economic mismanagement in Ireland, and to economic needs of America; to make at least an approximate correction of the amount of migration; and to study the routes and the economic and social controls of distribution in the new land, more fully than has yet been done. The following notes refer to the first and second problems of this trilogy.

There had been potato famines in Ireland in 1728-1732, 1734-1736, 1740-1741, 1765, 1798-1800, and 1817-1818; and in most of them, if not in all, there appear the same features of disease, death, thinning of population, and consequent reallocation of land. The potato was introduced into Ireland in 1586, and seems to have been generally in use as a staple food by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Despite some attempts to encourage plow tillage by legislation, spade economy grew more and more common as time passed. This was the natural result of the resource of the potato on the one hand, a staple food which permits the lowest known ratio of land to population unit for the temperate zone, and of the high rate of natural increase of the Irish people. A cereal economy was impossible if the land of Ireland was to support the Irish people. The cycle of Irish economic life during the eighteenth and the earlier nineteenth century ran about as follows:

After a famine, the death of a large proportion of the tenants on a typical estate led to the reallotment of land, of which there was then an adequate amount for the support of the peasants and the payment of rent. Heads of families were therefore established on farms which could comfortably support them, and leases of 61 years or three lives given. But the absence of any outlet for increased population in town industries (except in Ulster, where conditions were alleviated by the ineradicable thrift of the Scotch-Irish), professions (forbidden by law to Catholics until 1792),<sup>1</sup> or migration kept that increase upon the land granted originally to one family. In the second generation, therefore, the original tract was subdivided among the children, and in the third among the grandchildren. Neighbors and relatives, driven from nearby estates, moved in behind the agents' backs. Subdivision was carried to almost unbelievable lengths. The census of 1841 showed that 135,209 Irish tenants held an acre or less, while 306,915 held less than five acres.<sup>2</sup> One example will suffice to show the nature of the problem presented by subdivision:

A farm in County Clare, barony of Upper Tulla and townland of Fossabeg, was let to one tenant in 1793 for three lives. The lease expired in April, 1847, when there were found on it 96 tenants, all of them legal heirs by Irish common law to fractions of the original holding. Of these 96 heirs, 81 lived in tenant houses on the land while the other fifteen drew part or all of their support from it but lived elsewhere. Besides the 81 tenant houses, there were 48 cabins occupied by undertenants. The farm which had originally supported one family had become the means of support of a population of between 700 and 800. Not all of these were descendants of the original renters; part were squatters who had moved in from estates which, being more strictly managed, had evicted their surplus population.<sup>3</sup>

If the end of the lease came in a good year, the surplus tenants might be evicted and the land relet to one or two tenants, whereupon the filling-up was bound to begin anew unless the landlord or his agent were rarely vigilant and heartless. In such a case the homeless ones found the nearest estate which was managed with sufficient laxity to permit their slipping upon the land and becoming the inmates of a habitation of some kind. Once within walls, the free-

<sup>1</sup> 31 Geo. III. c. 32.

<sup>2</sup> See *Relief of the Distress in Ireland: Commissariat, 1847 (Accounts and Papers, Command, vol. XLI., 1847)*, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonization from Ireland, 1847 (H. C. VI.)*, pp. 521-522.

masonry of poverty protected them, for the people would not expose each other nor tell the truth about the size of their families.

But in time of famine the enforcement of any kind of law was difficult in Ireland, since the people were always close to the tenuous line between submission to control and desperate resistance, which famine discloses among any people. Typhus was endemic in Ireland; when famine reduced the usual resistance, it became epidemic and the people died in terrifying numbers. The cycle then closed with another reduction of the population, which enabled landlords to redistribute the land of the dead. Things went better for a time, and the earlier stages of overpopulation were relieved in the nineteenth century by various devices which warded off evil results temporarily. The institutions of *conacre*, of *muck-rent*,<sup>4</sup> of Ulster right in its countless local modifications; day labor on estates, seasonal migrations to Scotland or England for the cash-paid harvest work, the introduction of English Poor Law in 1838, repeated government loans for internal improvements and public works of many kinds—all these things were tried, and all of them failed to touch the heart of the trouble. Only a generous revamping of the whole economic life of Ireland, affording a variety of production and employment, and a raising of the standard of living high enough to reduce the rate of natural increase, could have been substituted for the periodic relief given by famine. Contemporary Malthusianism had never a better illustration.

The great significance of the famine of 1845 and the following years is that it was the first in which emigration was substituted for death. There had been Irish emigration to America before the Revolution, although the greater part of it seems to have gone from Ulster. There had been a growing tendency for the more intelligent to go to Canada or the United States, especially during the 'thirties. But for the most part the Irish peasant was unchangeably attached to his miserable home; nothing short of starvation could induce him to exchange its familiar privations for the terrors of lands unkent. The famine migration of the 'forties was so extensive that, combined with results of disease and starvation among those who did not succeed in escaping, it reduced the population of Ireland twenty per cent. in that decade. Nor has Ireland ever since touched her pre-famine level of misery, for before the good effects of that removal were undone by new increases, the enlightened modern policy of England had initiated her recent economic improvement.

<sup>4</sup> A type of rent used by young unmarried men, who secured muck ground at £3 or £4 an acre, and paid in cash after selling their crops. It was rare, owing to the early marriages usual in Ireland.

The Irish landlord has been held up in Canada and the United States for many years to almost universal execration. This seems to be due mainly to the condition of the Irish immigrants who tumbled pell-mell across the Atlantic in the Hungry 'Forties, and appealed to the citizenry of the new lands for immediate relief. The cruelty of eviction and the heartlessness of agents are stories that have been retold again and again, never without arousing resentment toward the absentees responsible for such enormities. And yet Irish landlords were not always absentee, not always cruel, nor should the difficulties of their situation be overlooked. The remedy for Ireland's woes lay in a knowledge of economic law that few statesmen possessed at that time, and their cause in English nationalism, a trait common to every country then as now. England was but protecting her own, according to a formula still practised in certain other countries, when she made laws that prevented competition by Irish enterprise and capital.

Eviction was unpleasant business, but it was the price of agricultural efficiency. It was usually carried out with careful regard for legal forms, and practically never until the interests of both landlord and tenants required it.<sup>5</sup> Landlords generally had wanted their surplus tenantry to emigrate for many years before they could be persuaded to do so, and many offered what was, for those days, generous help to those who would go. In the 'forties they chartered ships when the number going warranted it, and in many instances gave "landing-money" to their former tenants besides. They paid the current price of release of tenant-right for those who gave up their lands, and as a rule paid the passage-money of the migrants. They sometimes saw to it that the passengers had a supply of food besides the scanty ration required by law to be furnished steerage passengers. But even with this help, so poor were the ships of those days and so reduced the resistance of underfed bodies to the new life on shipboard, that disease and death found easy prey among the transplanted peasants. The people followed the universal habit of the ignorant, and blamed the nearest person in better circumstances; and this person was the landlord.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See 9 and 10 Vict. cc. 111, 112, and 11 and 12 Vict. c. 47. *Colonization from Ireland*, 1847, pp. 134, 138, 161, 165, and *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> It is impossible to read the conflicting accounts of the Irish migration without concluding that there was misrepresentation in many cases. The sympathy and indignation of Canadians and Americans were aroused by tales of landlords' parsimony and oppression as told by immigrants. Certainly there were some cruelly indifferent and selfish landlords, especially among the absentees. But many of these tales, carefully investigated by the British government, were circumstantially denied and disproved by the landlords. Can it be that the simple



This type of migration, which may be called "estate migration", continued through the famine years although it was more important before 1848. This was because landlords understood the necessity of clearing their lands, and not because they were really interested in building up the colonies which were the hobbies of a few political crotcheteers led by Gibbon Wakefield, Charles Buller, and William Molesworth. Still less was it because of any kindly feeling toward the United States, that hotbed of democracy in which people so quickly forgot all decent acknowledgment of their own inferiority. Despite this, it was done with much real regard for the welfare of Ireland as they understood it, and with a prevailing kindliness that was forgotten in the intense suffering that followed. Four great estates furnished the greater part of this migration, although many smaller ones participated in it. They were those of Colonel George Wyndham in County Clare, of Lord Palmerston in Sligo, of the Honorable C. B. Wandesford in Kilkenny, and of Colonel Francis Spaight in Tipperary. Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Darnley, Lord Ormond, and Lord Bessborough were others who sent out estate migrations.

The land of Lord Palmerston's Sligo estates was held until 1837 on the medieval rundale system—that is, the peasants lived in a village and held land, usually five Irish or eight English acres, in small patches scattered all about a farm. In 1837 a survey was made and a more modern system adopted. Each family was placed on its own unified patch, drained by a surrounding ditch. They were far more comfortable than they had been, but growled heartily at the change. A little fishing along the coast here supplemented the staple potato. The estate was badly overcrowded, and the tenants especially ignorant and averse to change. In 1847, after the total failure, Palmerston authorized his agent Kincaid to give aid to those who would migrate. Between 300 and 400 families applied, promising to surrender their holdings. Kincaid sent 894 individuals to Canada from the one estate of Cliffony, which had a population of some nine thousand. The estate was still overpopulated, but the people were then eager to go.

It was this deportation from Cliffony which aroused the Canadians to righteous indignation in the autumn of 1847. The last shipload arrived at Quebec on November 8, on what was the last ship of that season. Someone had promised them clothes and land—Irish peasant had an appreciation of the advantages to be gained from an affecting pose and a dramatic story? See Wandesford to Gliddon, Nov. 21, 1847, and other letters in *Papers relating to Emigration, 1847–1848* (*Accounts and Papers*, H. C. and Command), pp. 452 ff.



ing-money of from £2 to £5, but as no agent of Lord Palmerston appeared at Quebec, the immigrants were thrown on public charity. At St. John, New Brunswick, indignant citizens held a meeting at which they resolved to ship back to Ireland "the decrepit, aged, and naked children and women brought to that port"—part of two ship-loads from the Palmerston estates. There is, however, no record that any such action took place.

The protest of the Canadians against such dumping was prompt and decided. These were no folk for the development of a new country. "If his Lordship was aware of this most horrible and heartless conduct on the part of his Irish agents, and he one of the Ministers of the Crown, I dare not say what he would deserve", said Adam Ferrie of Lord Palmerston. "But that charity, my Lord, which 'thinketh no evil', would teach me to hope that a nobleman of England, high in the confidence of Her Most Gracious Majesty, and sharing in the honourable administrations of her Government, could [not] so far forget that duty which he owed to God, his Sovereign, and his country."<sup>7</sup>

Francis Spaight was a timber merchant who brought lumber, staves, and deals from British North America to the Shannon, and carried emigrants back. In 1844 he bought the property of Derry, sold under the Court of Chancery for £40,000. This estate was on the banks of the Shannon or Lough Derg, and included 4500 English or about 3000 Irish acres. It was said to be the worst overpopulated district in Great Britain. Spaight found on it an immense number of widows and paupers, occupying the land under a nominal rental that had not been paid in years. Some had a kitchen-garden plot, some a tiny hay-field, and all were resolved to resort to any violence before suffering eviction.

Finding that he must feed most of these people or see them starve, Spaight let it be known that if they wanted to go to Canada he would provide a free passage and provisions for the voyage. In 1846 he had about a hundred applications, and sent out twenty families. To each adult, on landing, he gave two guineas landing-money (£9 10 s. in all), besides food for the trip. These people sent back such good accounts of their fortunes in Canada that in 1847 he was

<sup>7</sup> Adam Ferrie, *Letter to the Rt. Hon. Earl Grey*, etc. (Montreal, 1847; Canadian Archives, C. A. P. 1636), pp. 7 ff. Buchanan to Campbell, Nov. 8, 1847; Canadian Archives, Corr. Gov.-Gen.'s Office, no. 4839. *Montreal Transcript*, July 11, 1846. Kincaid afterward testified that Palmerston provided food for the voyage but no landing-money. See *Colonization from Ireland*, 1847, pp. 145 ff., and *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire as to the Proposal for an Irish Packet Station*, 1851 (*Reports from Commissioners*, XXV., 1851), pp. 215-216.

able to send out 710 who were eager to join their relatives and friends. The cost that year was £3 10 s. per head. When his own ships failed he chartered others for the purpose.

Spaight did not allow Ulster right on his estate, but made each tenant give up his land absolutely to him. Each man as he left must level his own house; no one else could touch it. If a man had sown a crop, or bought manure or lumber for the place, he was compensated. When a space had been cleared, Spaight levelled the fences and reorganized as much land as possible into farms of 100 or 150 acres. Although this had been one of the most lawless districts of Ireland, and as usual the more intelligent and industrious of the people left, those who remained became at once quiet and orderly, since they now felt sure of making a living on the larger assignments under the new system. But the poor-rates were not reduced, since a nearby estate in the Temple Kelly electoral division was badly crowded and mismanaged, and so incapable of raising the rates for its own poor relief. Therefore Spaight continued to pay high rates because his neighbor was a bad landlord.<sup>8</sup>

The estate of Sir Robert Gore Booth in Sligo was a small one, and was managed personally by the owner. He was a magistrate, a poor-law guardian, and chairman of four relief committees during the famine. In 1834 he began his efforts to solve the land-and-population problem for himself and his tenants. The nature of these efforts may be best shown by the summarized account of his operations in the two townlands of Ballygilgan and Cartron Willinmogue, which he submitted late in the decade to a government committee of investigation:

	£	s.	d.
1835. Paid tenants of Ballygilgan for giving up their land	166	5	1
1837. Same account	39	13	4
1839. For passages to America for 18 families of 131 persons at £2 each	262	0	0
For passages for 12 persons without claim on the estate, as charity	10	12	0
Passages for 4 families, 33 persons, from Cartron Willinmogue at their own request	62	0	0

<sup>8</sup> Spaight himself thought that he could never have rid his land of its surplus population except for the potato famine, as the people were inclined to stay where they were until driven out by actual starvation. *Papers relative to Emigration to the British Provinces in North America, 1847* (*Accounts and Papers, XXXIX.*, 1847), p. 10; *Colonization from Ireland, 1847*, pp. 332-340.

1841.	Passages for 19 families, 63 persons	126	5	0
1842.	Passages for 5 families, 23 persons	67	5	0
	Money distributed by Lady Gore among emigrants from Ballygilgan	50	0	0
1834-1843.	Expense of providing tenants with land and houses in other places on less crowded land in Ireland, for which Ballygilgan tenants did most of the work, about	4000	0	0
Total cost in 9 years of efforts to adjust the population difficulty in two townlands, about		4784	0	0

The emigrants sent from the Booth estate did well in America, and their stories easily turned the scales in favor of emigration when the threat of famine added its urge. Sir Robert received many requests for aid, and in response sent out three shiploads in the season of 1847. The ships were of Greenock: the *Aeolus*, the *Yeoman*, and the *Lady Sale*. Each could by legal measurement hold 1122 statute adults, and doubtless each was loaded to capacity. They were stored with the legal requirement of food and water, and in addition had extra stores of oatmeal, Indian meal, salt fish, salt meat, tea, sugar, coffee, molasses, and tobacco. The total cost of the provisions is given as £5936. The *Aeolus* had beds and blankets for all her passengers, but the other two provided them only for those who had not their own. Besides the cost of the ships and food, Sir Robert paid for new clothing for part of the emigrants and gave them landing-money; and it is recorded that passengers on the *Aeolus* had among them £1500 on leaving Ireland.<sup>9</sup>

This was the case of tenants of an unusually wise and kind landlord. Many were less solicitous, and many less able to help; for most Irish landlords were themselves very poor. Much of the horror of Canadians and Americans, as they beheld the ragged immigrants poured out upon their shores, arose from the difference in the standard of living in the new land and in the old. The simple recital of everyday conditions in Ireland sounded to men in the New World like a proof of extreme oppression. In time this came to be the case with Irish-Americans themselves. But the judicially minded student of to-day, after allowing for much heartlessness in individual cases,

<sup>9</sup> *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonization from Ireland, 1848 (XVII., 1847-1848), pp. 255 ff.*

sees that the real blame for Irish troubles lay not so much with landlords, as with the traditional mercantilism and nationalism of English policy, which condemned Ireland to agricultural production only, and that on the lowest scale known to modern civilization.

The reduction of the Irish peasantry to a potato diet only was far more absolute and thorough than is usually understood. During the time of high corn tariffs Irish landlords had exported their grain to England; it was too valuable to be used as food by any but the very well-to-do. This partly explains why the Repeal made so little difference, and gave so little relief in 1847.

The diet of the working-classes throughout Europe at that time consisted mainly of starch, the lack of variety being deadened to consciousness by the free use of some kind of cheap stimulant. In the Latin countries this stimulant was wine; in England, beer; and in Ireland, except for those able to buy whiskey, it was tea. Fortunate peasants had a cow and drank milk during part of the year. The starch food in the more fortunate countries was cereal; they were happy peasants who had good black bread the year around. In Ireland, as overpopulation increased and the standard of living went down, bread ceased to be used except by townspeople and the gentry.

The poor worked very hard for their tiny crops of potatoes. The ground must first be prepared by spading, for Ireland was reduced to spade economy almost entirely. This occupied the whole family for weeks. Manure must be collected and spread on, for without it the exhausted land refused to produce. When planting time came the men dug the holes and the women carefully dropped in the cut potatoes. The hills must then be trenched and shovelled. The more thrifty spent much time in weeding, but weedy patches seem to have been the general rule. The growing time, from late June to early October, was spent in digging cubes of turf and piling them up for winter. These were to be used for boiling the potatoes by those who ate them cooked. Seasonal harvest workers spent this time in Scotland or England. From March to October the life of the Irish peasant swung in a circle about the regnant potato.<sup>10</sup>

So thoroughly had the potato superseded grain in the diet of the country that, when the famine came and grain poured into Ireland, there were not mills to grind it into flour and meal. The government officers in charge of relief thought that the people might profitably grind their own meal in hand-mills, since there was no other work to

<sup>10</sup> *Colonization from Ireland*, 1847, pp. 112 ff., 239-240. The presence of water-soluble vitamin C in potatoes explains the good health of the Irish; it was only when the potato disappeared altogether that scrofula appeared to an alarming extent. See Ellwood Hendricks, "Vitamines", in *Harper's Magazine*, CXLII. 501.

do. No one knew how to make a hand-mill. Few had ever seen such a thing. Mr. Charles Trevelyan, who was in charge of public works for Ireland, applied to the museum of India House for an Indian mill to be used as a model. Other models were found in northern Scotland, and after much experiment steel hand-mills were made and sent to the workhouses.<sup>11</sup>

The sympathy generally felt in the United States led its citizens to subscribe generously in money and to send over shiploads of that food of which they had most—Indian corn meal. After disastrous experiences with the moulding of the meal on the long sea voyage, the Americans learned to kiln-dry it before shipping. It then became the most acceptable and practicable food for the starving Irish. Father Mathew, of temperance-pledge fame, superintended the cooking and serving of corn-meal mush at Cork. Here there were five great kettles constantly boiling, and the poor were given what they wanted freely to eat and bowls or buckets of mush to take home. In relief work the British and Americans worked in partnership, but in the gratitude of the Irish the Americans had the lion's share. England and British North America gave generously and administered carefully, but the chorus of gratitude for clothing and food was directed mainly toward the United States. From the relief days dates that steady turning of Irish eyes toward the republic of the west which has given it a large proportion of Irish blood and ideas.<sup>12</sup>

In migration history it has been customary to accept government statistics as to numbers and nationality, with the proviso that absolute accuracy was impossible at the time and that the numbers migrating were probably considerably higher than the official figures show. This is particularly true of British out-going statistics during the potato famine, because of the great number of unseaworthy craft which slipped out of the unsupervised ports at that time. It is known that in the single year 1846, 712 ships left for British North America from ports having no government agent.<sup>13</sup> These ships were recorded when they arrived at Quebec or Montreal, however, and their human cargo counted and classified. For this reason and for others, Canadian reports are in many respects more dependable than those of the mother country.

In the United States very careful records were kept at most of the smaller ports. In the larger ones, and especially at New York,

<sup>11</sup> The difficulties encountered there are related in official letters in *Relief of the Distress in Ireland: Commissariat* (LI., 1847), pp. 81, 92, 99, 109-112, 395.

<sup>12</sup> *Relief of the Distress in Ireland: Commissariat, passim*; *Niles' Register*, LXXII. 137, 139, 178, 213, 392; LXXIII. 80, 129, 353. Hansard, 1847, XC. 603-607.

<sup>13</sup> *Colonization from Ireland*, 1847, App., p. 16.

there is evidence that the returns were incomplete.<sup>14</sup> Those of New Orleans either omitted or did not differentiate Americans returning to the United States.<sup>15</sup> Since there were but two ports in the then province of Canada, and those were manned by conscientious government officials, the Canadian reports are generally dependable except for the summer of 1847.<sup>16</sup> The records in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, important way-stations for migrants to the United States, were kept with fair accuracy except in 1847. In that year indeed government officials everywhere were helpless before the unprecedented headlong flight of misery and terror from stricken Ireland. It is just at the apex of the movement that records generally fail, on both sides of the Atlantic. Prince Edward Island, which had a diminishing immigration after 1842, was not important as a transfer station to the United States.

It would seem that the most accurate estimate of the numbers entering the United States from the United Kingdom during the 'forties would be made up as follows: British out-going and United States in-coming records, both corrected as far as possible from contemporary evidence, should be set side by side and the higher of the two figures accepted as approximately true, since all evidence goes to show that every official record was incomplete. To this

<sup>14</sup> The original returns to the Secretary of State for the decade, except the years 1844 and 1847, are in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Jesse Chickering, a contemporary authority (*Immigration into the United States*, 1848, p. 4), found that the records of the New York health officer showed those of the customs authorities in that city to be defective by some hundreds in each of several quarters, in 1845-1846-1847. Since there was such a discrepancy in the recorded numbers of the sick, who were kept in quarantine perhaps for weeks, many more of the lively and able must have escaped enumeration. The contemporary method of bringing immigrants to shore in small boats did not conduce to accuracy in enumeration. In 1841 a scandal in the New York Custom House caused a committee of investigation to be appointed, of which George Poindexter was chairman. Its report, in four large manuscript volumes in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, shows that much inefficiency and corruption existed in customs affairs at this period.

<sup>15</sup> The first quarter's report for 1844 from New Orleans did not reach Secretary Calhoun in time to be included in the Congressional report, and seems never to have been included in the printed figures. It was sent to Congress by Calhoun on January 15, 1845, and adds 2203 persons to the total for that year. (House Doc. 60, 28 Cong., 2 sess.)

<sup>16</sup> But dependable as they are, they offer difficulties. They sometimes differ in successive reports, and they do not always tally as to items and total. Cabin passengers sometimes got lost in the returns, having been listed separately and being less under the care of the immigration authorities. The historian has often to select from a mass of conflicting figures those which evidence indicates to be most reliable. When British out-going and Canadian in-coming figures disagree, the Canadian are accepted, because there were certain incentives in the United Kingdom for misrepresentation as to destination.

number coming directly, should be added the best obtainable estimate of the immigration from Canada and the Maritime Provinces. (A large proportion of migrants came first to British North America because of the lower fare, and stayed in the provinces long enough to earn the further fare required, or to be given transportation to some point near the border by the Canadian authorities.) The result would be as nearly the number of immigrants from the United Kingdom as can now be ascertained.

One aspect of the official statistics for the 'forties should be noted, because without careful interpretation it leads to a misunderstanding concerning the proportion of Irish who came, especially during the famine period. This proportion is very hard to fix for two reasons: In the United States Irish immigrants often reported themselves and were recorded simply as from "Great Britain and Ireland", so that the American reports are of little use for that purpose; and in the British reports those leaving from Liverpool are counted as English or Welsh, whereas Liverpool was used mainly by the Irish as a port of departure during the famine years.

The growth of the importance of Liverpool as a passenger station is one of the striking features of this decade. In the years 1847-1850 no other British port approached it in the amount of passenger shipping cared for. This traffic increased the already large amount of lumber, cotton, and foodstuffs brought to the Mersey mouth, contributing not a little to the growing importance of Manchester and its surrounding district. A month-by-month record of the passengers, mostly steerage, leaving Liverpool in 1847-1850, shows that the smallest number, about 3400, left in January, 1848; and the largest number, over 20,000, embarked in October, 1850. No other port ever sent out as many as 3000 emigrants in any single month. It was usual in this period for about 7000 emigrants to leave Liverpool in the quiet months of December and January.

The proportion of these emigrants who were Irish was estimated by the officials in charge at nine-tenths.<sup>17</sup> If the port reports be corrected by this estimate, the number of Irish coming to the United States will be found to correspond more nearly than the official reports to the tales told in countless unofficial records of those years. The British statistics for Irish migration to North America give:

<sup>17</sup> *Report from the Select Committee on Passengers' Act, etc., 1851 (Reports from Committees, XIX.), pp. iv-v; Twelfth Annual Report, Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners (Reports from Commissioners), pp. 9-11.*



	To British North America	To the United States	Total
1846	31,738	7,070	38,808
1847	71,253	24,502	95,755
1848	20,852	38,843	59,695
1849	26,568	43,673	70,241
1850	19,784	31,297	51,081

If the United States official returns for United States ports be substituted for the British reports (using original rather than printed records when available), we have the following table:

	To British North America	To the United States	Total
1846	31,738 <sup>18</sup>	51,752	83,490
1847	71,253	105,536	176,789
1848	20,852	112,934	133,786
1849	26,568	159,398	185,966
1850	19,784	164,004	183,788

If now the Irish emigration from Irish ports be added to nine-tenths of the total emigration from Liverpool, we have as the total Irish famine emigration:

1846	92,484
1847	196,224
1848	173,744
1849	204,771
1850	206,041

But the story is not yet quite complete. The British officials also estimated that fully a third of the emigration from Glasgow during this period was not Scottish but Irish. Most of this must have been Scotch-Irish rather than Celtic, and so should not be counted as part of the most completely Irish migration; but part of it certainly was Celtic. If due allowance for this factor be made, and also for the habit of many Irish in coming to the United States to report themselves merely as British subjects, it will be seen that this corrected total corresponds fairly well with the United States records on the

<sup>18</sup> The final English records were largely made up of Canadian returns. The Maritime Provinces did not as a rule distinguish nationalities in their returns, but by a process of arithmetic the following proportions are found:

	Irish to Canada	Irish to Maritime Provinces
1846	21,722	10,016
1847	54,310	16,943
1848	16,535	4,317
1849	23,714	2,854
1850	18,131	1,653

subject. The estimate of the port officials seems to have been a little too large.

The inevitable conclusion from a study of all records is that the number of Irish who came to the United States during the famine period was actually much larger than is shown by official British figures, while the number of English and Welsh was correspondingly smaller. During the earlier part of the decade passages were paid either by the better-to-do small farmers themselves, or by their landlords; while in the famine years by far the greater part of the migrants were provided with passage-money by their devoted friends and relatives, who had found work at good wages in the New World and sent back for their loved ones to share their better fortunes. No other people have equalled the Irish in this sort of loyal remembrance of those left behind.<sup>19</sup>

The vast numbers of the famine migration brought about a change in shipping which was of extreme significance, and which has stimulated migration ever since. For a short time during the Crusades there seem to have been ships sailing from Marseilles to the Levant which made it a chief business to carry passengers and which bore freight only as a secondary function. Then the number of travellers so decreased that the passenger ship was no longer needed, and modern shipping to about 1850 was, aside from navies and occasional colonization ventures, altogether a matter of freight ships which carried passengers as a return cargo or as a side-line. During the 'thirties and the 'forties the importance of the westward human cargo increased steadily, and during the famine years it actually became financially as important as the eastward cargoes of cotton and lumber. The increasing stringency of passenger acts made it more and more difficult to adapt the freight ships to passenger traffic. The increase in capital and in the volume of business, and a revolution in materials and design and power made the building of new ships possible and necessary. The shipping companies saw the direction in which interest lay, and the result was the gradual evolution of the modern passenger ship.

FRANCES MOREHOUSE.

<sup>19</sup> *Colonization from Ireland*, 1849, pp. 127 ff.; *Seventh General Report, Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners*, p. 2, and *Twelfth Report*, p. 12 (*Reports from Commissioners*, XXXIII., 1847, and XVIII., 1852); *Irish Packet Station*, 1851, p. 215 (*ibid.*, XXV., 1851).

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### ADMIRALTY PRIZE CASE BRIEFS

THE New York Public Library has recently acquired an extensive collection of easily accessible source-material which should prove of interest and value in the study of international law and of American, British, and French commerce between 1803 and 1808.

The collection consists of briefs prepared for the cases of 84 American ships condemned in the High Court of Admiralty or the vice-admiralty courts and appealed to the "Lords Commissioners of Appeal in Prize Causes" in London. These quarto briefs, published in form similar to the "Blue Books", sometimes run to fifty pages in length. Their value lies in the reproduction of the ships' documents, the testimony, and the commercial papers involved in each case.

In most of the briefs one can find full details of the ship herself, her master, owners, and crew, the cargo and its owners, the voyage of capture and previous voyages, the capture itself and the grounds of condemnation, and the progress of the trial. There are usually the ship's register, bills of lading, captain's instructions, testimony of officers, and sometimes crew, and full commercial correspondence.

When the briefs were sold at auction last year the New York Public Library secured through Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, director of its manuscripts division, the papers dealing with 54 ships hailing from New York, 28 from Philadelphia, and one each from Perth Amboy and Alexandria. The other briefs in the collection, including 32 from Baltimore, 24 from Boston, 12 from Charleston, 8 from Salem, and 7 each from Newburyport and New Orleans were bought by other purchasers and may be available elsewhere.

In preparation of a projected history of New York commerce, I have analyzed the 54 briefs dealing with ships from that port. The briefs are arranged in three volumes alphabetically by the names of the ships. As the material is not indexed, references to certain cases by ships' names may be of some service to those who desire to investigate particular problems. Where two or more ships bore the same name, the order is indicated by Roman numerals.

Naturally, most of the cases involved the workings of the Orders in Council or the British measures which preceded them. The most common charge was the carrying of enemy property, illustrated, for

instance, by the *Aurora* and *Favorite*. Next to that came breach of blockade, the effectiveness of the Curaçao blockade being questioned in the case of the *Buhlah Maria* and *Mariner*. Violation of the Orders in Council of November 11, 1807, was the charge against the *Industry* and three others, while the *Cora* and two others were charged with trading between enemy ports. The doctrine of the "continuous voyage" was used against the *Ambition* and *Little Cornelia*. It is interesting to note that out of 36 cases of original condemnation, 21 were reversed upon appeal, while the appellate judges reversed three out of four cases of original release. The litigation in the case of the *Independence III*, lasted from her capture on November 13, 1803, to the final judgment on March 22, 1810.

The papers throw plenty of light on the commerce involved. John Jacob Astor had furs in the *Mentor*; there were wines for Stephen Jumel in the *Eugenia*; and there is a detailed invoice of Jacob Schieffelin's drugs in the *Brunswick*. Even more explicit is a bill of lading of French dry goods in the *Jane II*. The *Cora* had a cargo of Samarang coffee for Minturn and Champlin, while the *Cotton Planter* took slaves from Senegal to Montevideo and was carrying north a cargo of hides. The *Industry* illustrates a "tramp" trade involving Nantes, St. Petersburg, Barcelona, and New York. But most common of all were the West Indian cases. Typical of these was the *Actress*, carrying beef, pork, flour, soap, and butter to Martinique and starting back with sugar, coffee, and cocoa. The *Hope I* was carrying to Bordeaux colonial wares brought from the French West Indies to New York in a half-dozen different ships.

There are full details of every capture, ranging geographically from the *Cora*, taken five leagues east of Batavia and condemned at Bombay, to the *Aurora* and *Enterprise*, stopped within sight of Sandy Hook and sent to Halifax. The *Huron* was snapped up in the English Channel while her crew were dead drunk from the wine cargo and was condemned by the High Court of Admiralty. Most of the captures were in the West Indies, like the *Anna*, taken "off Old Cape François" and the *John* "to the Windward of Guadeloupe". Such cases were sent before the vice-admiralty judges at Jamaica, Antigua, Barbados, or Tortola.

Evasions of the British rules and the American Embargo were attempted time and again. The captain of the *John*, however, who tied his incriminating papers to a brick and threw them overboard, was as unlucky as the more subtle master of the *Cotton Planter*. He showed innocent papers, indicating Charleston as a destination, to a frigate captain who had intercepted on a previous ship letters proving that he was really headed for Cuba. A suspicious English port offi-

cial scraped the stern of the *Dispatch* and claimed that she had previously been named the *Bonaparte*, and before that *Le Vainqueur*. Evasions of the Embargo will be found in the papers of the *Anna* and *Maryland*.

The papers not only reveal the scope of business of numerous New York merchants but also reveal information concerning the officers and crews of the captured vessels, which it would be difficult to find elsewhere. They show that New Englanders played a very large part in commanding and manning these ships hailing from New York. Of 51 captains for whom there are details, 29 were born in New England, ten in New York, six in the states south of New York, five in the British Isles, and one in France. The nativity of the mates was similar. The crews were largely American, with occasional Scandinavians. No sailor, of course, in those days of impressment, would sign the articles as a native Briton. The crew list for the *Jane I.*, with two Danes and a Swede in a crew of ten, was typical for that period.

The ships, like their captains, came for the most part from New England, although registered in New York because they were owned there or did most of their trading there. The figures in the reports were less complete than for the captains and suggested a search in the registry records of the New York customs district. Those dusty volumes confirmed the fact that the few shipyards of the East River and the Hudson towns were inadequate for the growing trade of New York. Of 100 ships securing New York registry in May and June, 1807, 22 were built in New York, 7 in states to the south, and 71 in New England, including 35 in Connecticut, 34 in Massachusetts with Maine, and 2 in Rhode Island. The registry figures as late as 1850 showed similar results except that the primacy had passed to Maine. Of 100 ships registered at New York in that year, 16 were built in New York, 9 in states to the south, and 75 in New England, including 55 in Maine, 11 in Massachusetts, and 6 in Connecticut. These proportions are similar to those shown in the briefs.

The few facts mentioned concerning the prize-case papers are only a hint of the wealth of material which they contain—enough, perhaps, for more than one doctor's thesis. It may prove convenient to those who may wish to consult the papers to know that they are listed in the library catalogue "*Great Britain, Courts: High Court of Admiralty—Prize Causes—New York (Philadelphia, etc.) Ships.*"<sup>1</sup>

ROBERT G. ALBION.

<sup>1</sup> For notes on similar collections of briefs, in the Library of Congress, that of Brown University, and the New York Public Library, see J. F. Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period*, pp. 453-454, and Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, XXV. 85-101. ED.

## PACIFIST PROPAGANDA AND THE TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO

STUDENTS of American diplomacy have often pointed out the importance of article XXI. in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This article seems to have introduced into our diplomacy the idea of the permanent arbitration of future disputes.<sup>1</sup> It is of interest, then, to consider the origin of this particular provision of the treaty which ended our war with Mexico.

The publication of William Jay's *War and Peace* in 1842 recommending a policy of writing compulsory arbitration clauses into international treaties did a great deal to make this proposal one of the favorite schemes in the platform of organized pacifism. It was recommended in one of the resolutions of the first popular international peace congress, that held in London in 1843. American pacifists sent a great number of memorials and petitions to the federal government urging the adoption of this policy of "stipulated arbitration", as it was called.<sup>2</sup> Hence it has been natural for pacifists to assume that article XXI. in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was a natural result of this pressure. A writer for the World Peace Foundation in 1926 says that "the net result of all this activity seems to have been the inclusion of article 21 in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo".<sup>3</sup>

Two circumstances, however, might lead one without going further to question this statement. In the first place "all this activity" is stated in the preceding paragraph of this writer to have taken place "between 1837 and 1856"—the question is not asked how much of it preceded the sending of the American peace commissioner to Mexico in April, 1847. A careful analysis of the petitions indicates that many came after this date. In the second place, pacifist leaders at the time do not seem to have been impressed with the significance of this provision as a gain for their cause, and only later pointed to it with pride,<sup>4</sup> a fact which may well indicate that, the arbitration petitions not having received favorable response from the government,<sup>5</sup> pacifists were not looking for a result of such petitions in the treaty of peace.

<sup>1</sup> John Bassett Moore, "The United States and International Arbitration", American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1891, pp. 74-75; Carl Russell Fish, *American Diplomacy*, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> Adelaide R. Hasse, *Index to United States Documents relating to Foreign Affairs, 1828-1861* (Washington, 1914), pt. I., pp. 60-61, and *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Arbitration and the United States*, World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, vol. IX., nos. 6-7 (Boston, 1926), p. 485.

<sup>4</sup> *Advocate of Peace*, X. (January, 1852) 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Arbitration and the United States*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 487-488.

The assumption that article XXI. was written into the treaty as the result of American efforts in behalf of arbitration is shown by research in the materials of the period to be without foundation. In the first place it is significant that neither in the *Diaries* of President Polk nor in his manuscript papers in the Library of Congress for the period during which negotiations were being planned is any mention made of the petitions or of arbitration.<sup>6</sup> In the second place there is no reference to the subject in the voluminous correspondence of Nicholas P. Trist, the American commissioner, prior to the opening of the negotiations with Mexico.<sup>7</sup> Finally the American draft of the treaty prepared by the Cabinet, which Trist submitted, contained in its eleven articles no reference to arbitration, and the official instructions to Trist do not mention the subject.<sup>8</sup> Plainly the government of the United States had not been impressed by the energetic work of the pacifists for the principle of arbitration. One is therefore not surprised to find that the first proposal for arbitration came from Mexico,<sup>9</sup> and that during the actual negotiations it was the Mexican commissioners who pushed the project. Disappointed in their efforts to have the present controversy arbitrated,<sup>10</sup> these representatives of a weak nation submitted a strong clause binding the two governments to employ arbitration in case of future disputes.<sup>11</sup> This proposal Trist refused to accept, until its effectiveness (from the Mexican point of view) was destroyed by making arbitration a matter of mere recommendation instead of stipulation.

The attitude of the United States toward the Mexican proposal seems well represented in the official reports of Trist to the Department of State. In a final despatch of January 25, 1848, he summarized the developments on this point during the negotiations:

<sup>6</sup> *The Diary of James K. Polk* (ed. M. M. Quaife, Chicago, 1910), II. 429-478, and *passim*; Papers of James K. Polk, MSS., Library of Congress, vol. LXXXVI., *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Papers of Nicholas P. Trist, MSS., Library of Congress, vols. XXII. and XXIII. (1847), *passim*, to Dec. 13, 1847.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIII. 59979-59989 (MS. draft of the proposed treaty), 59958-59961 (MS. instructions to Trist). Instructions to Trist are in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 52, 30 Cong., 1 sess.

<sup>9</sup> The first mention of arbitration in the Trist correspondence is in a letter from Edward Thornton, British consul at Querétaro, dated Dec. 11, 1847, in which he apprizes Trist of a Mexican proposal for arbitration which he thinks will soon be presented. Trist Papers, XXIII. (1847) 60851, 60852.

<sup>10</sup> Despatch of Trist to Buchanan, Secretary of State, dated Jan. 2, 1848. *Ibid.*, XXVII. 61009.

<sup>11</sup> The original Mexican draft of this famous article was received Jan. 9, 1848, and as translated by Edward Thornton is given in the Trist Papers, XXVIII. 61088.



Some things which were proposed and strongly insisted upon on the part of the Mexican government, were of a nature to admit of nothing but a positive refusal. Among these were the distinct proposals that the Treaty should be made under the guaranty of neutral powers, and that it should stipulate absolutely for the submission of all future differences to arbitration. The stipulation on the latter subject, as modified by me, will be found in Article 21. In that shape, whilst it serves to strengthen the Treaty in this country [Mexico] it can do no harm, but may do good, as a formal recognition of the general expediency and duty of using every endeavor to [adjust] differences otherwise than by a resort to the *Ultima Ratio*.<sup>12</sup>

As modified by Trist the last part of article XXI. as it now stands reads: "And should such course [arbitration] be proposed by either party, it shall be acceded to by the other, unless deemed by it altogether incompatible with the nature of the difference, or the circumstances of the case."<sup>13</sup> As Trist assured the administration, such a mild recommendation "could do no harm".

It is quite clear, then, that even this lukewarm recognition of the principle of arbitration, representing nevertheless a real gain for the cause of peace, was achieved not through American efforts but in spite of American opposition. The efforts of pacifists and others in this country had nothing whatever to do with the writing of this important article into the treaty.

M. E. CURTI.

<sup>12</sup> Despatch no. 27, Trist to Buchanan, Jan. 25, 1848. Trist Papers, XXVII. 61219.

<sup>13</sup> This final form of the article bears the date Jan. 16 in the margin. *Ibid.*, XXVIII. 61148.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Letters of a West Pointer, 1860-1861*

THE following correspondence is, with the permission of the writer's family, contributed to the *Review* by Mr. Francis P. Sullivan of Washington, D. C.

The writer, Edward Willoughby Anderson, was the son of James Willoughby Anderson, a graduate of West Point in the class of 1833, whose career is briefly outlined in the letter of General Scott printed below, and of Ellen Mannevillette Brown (the Ellen M. A. of the letters). His paternal grandparents were William Anderson, colonel in the United States Marine Corps, and Jane Willoughby of Norfolk, Virginia. Before going to West Point he was a student in the New York Free Academy, the institution which in 1866 became the College of the City of New York. Its president, Homer Webster, was a West Pointer of 1818; Wolcott Gibbs and Charles E. Anthon were among the young man's teachers in the academy. Its *Catalogue* of 1857-1858 lists him as a member of the freshman class, living at 87 West 36th Street. Its *Merit Roll* of July, 1859, shows his name as fourth in the sophomore class.

After leaving West Point, Edward Willoughby Anderson served, as will appear on later pages, as cadet in the Virginia provisional army. Then he served as engineer in the construction of Fort Norfolk and the St. Helena and Craney Island batteries; as drillmaster of the Sixth Virginia Infantry; as captain of artillery in the regular army of the Confederacy, and on the staffs of Generals Lee, Pender, and Wilcox; and participated in the battle of Petersburg, the Seven Days' battles before Richmond, and those of Winchester, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, Mine Run, and others, to the end of the war. He was married in 1867 to Elizabeth Masi of Norfolk, of a family to which there are references in the later letters, and died in Washington, D. C., in September, 1915.

The "Uncle Mann" of the letters was Elihu Mannevillette Deering Brown, an artist by profession.

The omissions indicated in the letters as printed below are solely of family matters or of passages that would have no interest for present-day readers. Letters XV.-XVII. are of especial interest. Further entertaining pictures of West Point life in this very interesting period may be found in General Morris Schaff's *The Spirit of Old West Point, 1858-1862* (Boston and New York, 1907).

I. GENERAL SCOTT TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.<sup>1</sup>

HEAD QRS. OF THE ARMY,  
N. YORK, Dec. 29, 1859.

Sir:

I beg to ask a cadet's warrant for Master *Edward Willoughby Anderson*, son of Major J. W. Anderson, an excellent officer of the 2d Infantry, who, after distinguishing himself on several occasions in the Mexican War, was mortally wounded at the battle of Churubusco.

Master Anderson, now eighteen years of age, was born in the Army, at St. Augustine, Florida, and is now a student in the High School of this city. He is in robust health, active and intelligent. His father's merits, coming in support of his own, seem to give him the highest claim to the warrant.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

With high respect,

Your obt. Servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

## II. E. W. ANDERSON TO E. M. D. BROWN.

WEST POINT, June 17, '60.

Dear Uncle Mannevillette.

I am very well, and beginning to get broken in. I do not *know* that I am a Cadet yet as I have not passed my mental examination. This is a rough school. *Very rough*. The cadets are, in general, a swearing, immoral, boisterous set, very vulgar in their language and excessively given to a petty teasing habit. We are very much tied up here. Have comparative freedom only on Saturday afternoons. Our fare is very poor though there is enough of it. An old man has just come into the room to get dirty clothes, and made the remark that he had been about the barrack 30 years. I asked him if he remembered Cadet Anderson who graduated in 33, my father, and he said yes, he remembered him and that he was called "Pokey Anderson". He says every one gets a nick name. We have not much time to ourselves. Demerits do not count for 1st month, and this is very fortunate, for I have several already for not keeping room clean, caused by my short sightedness, and for another slight offence caused by ignorance. The drill is the worst thing here. It is tiresome and irksome. I suppose I will get used to it after a while. We are allowed to have letter stamps. I have to get up at 6 and go to bed at 10. How did you get along to Utica? You must come and see me sometime. All you have to do after getting to Roe's Hotel is to send for me. It is said that ours is the best looking "plebe" class that has come here for sometime. It is nearly tattoo and I must close.

Your affectionate nephew,

WILLOUGHBY.

## III. ANDERSON TO MRS. J. W. ANDERSON.

WEST POINT, June 24, '60.

Dear Ma,

I am now firmly fixed as a member of the Military Academy. Don't come on yet, however, till I tell you. I haint got my "togs" yet, and

<sup>1</sup> John B. Floyd.

would not make a satisfactory appearance (Get Georgia to tell me if that is an "a" or an "e".) I shall tell George to call around if he will, and see about my books. I will give you a list as near as I can recollect. Look into all for the mark (FREE ACADEMY, NEW YORK) something like that. Let Georgia Attend to this. She said she would when I left. What books I don't put down George will probably know: Bartlett's Optics and Acoustics, Bartlett's Astronomy, Davies' Calculus, Owen's Homer's Odyssey, Anthon's Horace, Sophocles Grammar (Greek), Andrews and Stoddarts Grammar (Latin), Shaws English Literature, Bird's Natural Philosophy, Mahan's Logic, Perry's Japan.

There may be an algebra and a geometry around. Look round a little for them. If you find any with the mark in them send them to the Academy. If you don't find any, why all right. . . . I shall write by this mail I think to Dr. Webster. I am now in "Camp". Live 4 in one tent, 12 by 8 ft, of this shape.<sup>2</sup> We keep pretty warm during the night. I've been in the guard house already. Don't be alarmed. A fellow can't help it yet. They put us in for nothing almost. They say it is to learn us how. Don't get any demerits till 15th of July. . . . In most of our tents the cadets and plebes live together, 2 cadets, and 2 plebes to wait on them generally. My tent is the only one, I believe, where 4 plebes live together, and I think we are the more respected for it. We call it "Plebe Hotel". My tent mates are Elliott from Penn., Maclay from New York and Meade, a distant relation of Richard K. Meade from<sup>3</sup>

an amiable boy 16 yrs old. . . . There is a custom here of plaguing plebes by pulling them out of their tents, when they are asleep, by the heels, or even in the evening when they are sitting down. We seem to be let alone remarkably in this respect for what reason I don't know. They say that plebes tent with old cadets to avoid being pulled out. I think they get served a great deal worse, besides being pulled out, rode on broomsticks etc. They are "fags" and drudges to the tent mates, most of them, especially those who are good natured or who have no spunk. One of our plebes actually blacked a cadet's shoes for him. I have done hardly anything as yet for them unless they asked me in a civil manner, and I do not think I get along any the worse for it. They have tried several times to "yank" me out of the tent by the heels, but have not done it yet. They say it is done mostly by the yearlings and that we will do the same things next year. I hope we will get up a more respectable class. I think the best fellows in our class will not do so, and can I hope prevent the rest. It would be an era in West Point Life. . . . I am not by any means so confident of standing head of my class as I was before I came. There are some smart fellows in it. I think, however, I shall do my best. I am writing to you on the back of a looking glass, while I am lying on the floor of my tent on a comfortable. My three tent mates are all writing letters, one sitting on a pail turned upside down, the other two sitting on the locker, a sort of partitioned chest. Do you remember a Captain Clarke of the 3d Infantry. His son is here, same class with me,<sup>4</sup> a fine looking young man and I think pretty smart.

Your affectionate son,

WILLOUGHBY.

<sup>2</sup> Here, as in various other places in the letters, the writer inserts a drawing.

<sup>3</sup> Pennsylvania; George Meade, son of General G. G. Meade, and at Gettysburg a colonel on his father's staff. The other two were John Elliott, afterward captain in the 43d Infantry, and Isaac W. Maclay, afterward an ordnance officer.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander S. Clarke, afterward captain, and assistant instructor in the Academy.

## IV. ANDERSON TO MRS. J. W. ANDERSON.

WEST POINT, June 27, 1860.

*Dear Ma,*

I received your last letter today. You want me to write oftener. That I shall try to do. Soon as I get settled down I expect to be able to write very often. I sent you a couple of letters yesterday, I think, one of which explains why you were a week without hearing from me, viz. ignorance of the postal arrangements here in camp. . . . I expect to get my uniform about the 4th. Georgia wanted to know. She asks about politics. West Point is all democrat and those who are not of that stripe here, veil their flag, or go the Belleveret. . . . [I] eat anything and everything. The other day the whole "squad" (I. e., the plebes) went down to the Commissary's to get some fatigue jackets, and while we were waiting an old man came along with two baskets full of ginger snaps. In a very short time all but a half basket were gone, and I expect nearly all the spare chink was gone too. Money is worth a great deal here, a great deal indeed. I must tell you about those fatigue jackets. They are made of stout brown linen. When we went into the tailor shop, we found a great pile of them ready made, and soon a great many of us were fitted as Lieutenant McCook<sup>5</sup> said who was there trying them on. He is a great stickler for looseness and most of the boys looked as if they had meal sacks on.

I guess I'll give you a synopsis of a day in camp. Gun fired in your ears at 5 o'clock, get up, dress, and run out to roll call sans face washed, teeth brushed, etc., run back into tent and make a dive into a wash bowl, fixed up on three stilts for a wash stand, and before you get through called out again to act as scavenger for your company, picking up all the pieces of paper, dirt, rubbish in company ground with your fingers (business of new cadets), run back in tent, brush hair, seize musket, rush out again at 5½. Then for an hour we are drilled in the manuel. Support arms, present arms, carry arms, trail arms, order arms, charge bayonets, etc. with those muskets, light ones, but heavy for us, at ½ past 6 run back into tents, perform toilet, get water, and perform service for old cadets (if you don't do it you get in the guard house), run into tent, and maybe you are free for a couple of hours (just as likely to be in the guard tent (prison)). At 11, turn out for drill, for one hour, till 12, in a roasting sun, double-quick step, (run) sometimes. Get back into tent, which is like an oven, blow for an hour, perform toilet for dinner, provided you are not put in guard tent for inattention at drill. (Although you may have been doing your best). At 1 march to dinner, composed of beef, bread, gravy or butter, bread, water, bread and potatoes, sometimes you can't eat them, also bread. Get through and march back at ½ past 1, and if you don't get in guard tent for errors in marching to dinner or from same, or some other error, or no old cadet want's your services, you may be free till 4, at which time, the new cadets go into the scavenging business again, policing the grounds of rubbish, . . .

<sup>5</sup> Alexander M. McCook, assistant instructor in infantry tactics, afterward major-general.

V. ANDERSON TO MRS. J. W. ANDERSON.

WEST POINT, June 29, '60.

*Dear Ma,*

Tell Villette not to be afraid of the demerits. It wouldn't do here, for a fellow—beg pardon, *man* to get no demerits, even if it were practicable. Tell her also, that I am certain that my demerits don't count yet,—not till the 15th July, when we will get much less of them and less of the guard trust either: for, now, we get into that constitution mostly for disobedience of old cadets, who take this method of compelling submission, by telling on the plebes, when they find them—not me, on the smoking, swearing—smoking, swearing, even,—although they swear excessively themselves, out in company ground (between tents) with jacket unbuttoned, or caps off. Old cadet comes up to plebe “Hullo! plebe, ain't that my cap you've got on?” Upon which plebe puts in a negative, at the same time uncovering his caput for the purpose of examining the suspicious article. Plebe is put on guard tent for having cap off. The guard house is mere “fun” for the cadets, and much otherwise for us, since we get no demerits, and are conscious of no wrong. I have only one (head tog) in camp. I wish I had brought a latin and greek book, because at present I stand but little chance of seeing such an article here. This may mend, however, when we get into the library. . . . I don't wish to burden you with anything when you come, but you may bring my Lucian and Sallust. If I want anything else I will write you word. The only way in which I could get a bundle without it being inspected would be through the post office. I only tell you this as a piece of information. They can be sent here by express, but must be opened at the quartermaster's. I guess that wonderful uniform won't be much, as “they say” that the tailors take precious little pains with the plebes' coats. Much obliged for the articles, great market for them here. The dining hall is a large “hall” furnished with 12 tables. No one but cadets in the hall except the waiters. Have to behave though or get demerits. As the cadets are officered from cadets, the corporals being appointed from 4th class, sergeants from 3, lieutenants from 2d, captains from 1st. There are 4 companies, A B C D. I enter B at present. I have my old nick name at present, but it won't last because it is too long. “John Anderson my Jo John.” . . . I don't know whether Georgia means to insinuate, that I am a grasshopper or not. I am not this year at any rate, for it is not customary for plebes to go to “hop”, although I have the subscription list in “plebe hotel” for signatures, also for dancing school, which last I have signed with a great many of my class. . . .

Now I must tell you of a grand catastrophe which happened to our tent about three o'clock last evening. It suddenly took it into its head to tumble down, being aided, I know (for I saw them loosen the ropes) by some cadets. We were enveloped in the canvas. I by one edge was covered by the sky which being lit up by the moon was very beautiful, as I gazed on it from my horizontal position. The sentinel came round and helped us to put it up again. . . . Have to go out scavenging in a minute or 2, so must stop.

Your affectionate son,  
WILLOUGHBY

## VI. ANDERSON TO MRS. J. W. ANDERSON.

WEST POINT, July 3, '60.

*Dear Ma,*

I am on sick list today, so that I have a little leisure. I am excused from drill on account of pounding one of my toes with a musket in "Order arms". I thought I could get along with it this morning, and went through a drill with it, with not more than the average amount of jawing, but marching from breakfast, the boy in front hit my foot with his own, unintentionally, but I had to fall out of ranks, and march to camp by myself. I have to stay in my tent by this "excuse from drill" which will be rather irksome tomorrow (the 4th) when we have no drills. Besides I lose a good deal of practice in the manuel, which I can ill afford, as I find that I learn it very slowly, more slowly than most of the others. Also, I just learned (coming back from hospital) that my uniform, among a few others, is done. However, what can't be cured must be endured, so I shall take it easy. The sentinel who went to the hospital with me, told me that he served himself the same trick when he was a plebe, and, like me, tried to stick it out, in order not to get behind his class. But he said he got along a great deal worse and had to go to the hospital at last. Tell Georgia and Villette that I am much obliged to them for their sympathy, and for the scolding which they give the arrangements here. I am rather sorry that Davis<sup>6</sup> is on the committee as he is called the father of the 5 years course. Ask Georgia to write me word what precession and mutation are, for I'll be shot if I can make it out in the present state of my mental arrangements. I have met one friend here, Dupont, the cadet quartermaster,<sup>7</sup> who says his father and mine were "amigos". I was in the guard tent 3 times yesterday and once today. There were no less than 34 of us in yesterday evening for the same thing. Every one receives money here who can get it. I wish you could send me a newspaper now and then. The easiest way, but most costly, would be to have a paper sent directly from office here. There are a great many sent. . . . Some are Douglass and some Breck. . . . Don't be alarmed about my not having enough food, such as it is, to eat. . . . You need never get worried about me, or Georgia either, for I am much more tied up here than I was at home. The drill in the middle of the day will be abolished soon and artillery drill will replace it. . . . You need not stand in the guard tent if there is room to sit down on the floor. . . . Dont send any more "sandpaper". I thought I had a nice long letter when I got that. Much obliged to you for it nevertheless. We have to use it to clean our guns. . . . Do you know anything about the Massey's of Norfolk, Va. There is one in my class,<sup>8</sup> who knows, "they say", five or six languages, and everything else in proportion. I think from the looks of my class that it is a very smart one. . . .

I have just limped down to dinner and back, and have been ordered to go down to tailors for my uniform, so that I will emerge among the first from the condition of an "animal" to that of a new cadet. . . .

<sup>6</sup> Senator Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War in the previous administration.

<sup>7</sup> Henry A. DuPont, class of 1861, afterward brevet lieutenant-colonel and United States senator, son of Gen. Henry A. DuPont of the class of 1833 (Anderson's father's class).

<sup>8</sup> Frank J. Masi; see nos. XVIII. and XIX.



The place of all places here now does not seem to be Benny Haven's, but a certain "diggings" called "Buttermilk" or "Buttermilk Falls".

...

I am in a dilemma. B is the northern company, C is the Southern. I should rather be in C than in B. Lieut. McCook is commandant of B Company, and he, having most to do with making corporals (great office here) takes most of the corporals from B. . . .

VII. ANDERSON TO MRS. J. W. ANDERSON.

WEST POINT, July 6, '60.

*Dear Ma,*

I have not been able to write to you for some time. I'll tell you the reason in a minute. About those collars; make no buttonholes, and make them 2 inches longer than length of this paper. The stitch makes no matter. The chief thing here is to have enough of them so that one can have 2 or 3 clean ones every day. I told you that I went on sick report and was excused from drill. Toward evening I asked whether I was excused from parade. No. So I went on parade. Got put in the battalion, that is, among the old cadets to parade so that I could go on guard on the 4th. I was rather willing to go because going on guard is a great bore to the new cadets, and so to the old also, but not so much because they are not plagued and know the duties. I had no idea of what I had to undergo, or, probably, I should not have done it. However I went on guard on the 4th, at 8 in the morning, walked 2 hours from 10 to 12, walked again from 4 to 6 in the afternoon, again from 10 to 12 in the evening and from 4 to 6 in the morning. In all that I guess I got about 2 hours sleep. The last round it was raining so that I stood up in the sentry box as long as I could, where I fixed a stick so that I could rest half sitting and half standing. Nearly went to sleep 2 or 3 times, but gradually got my eyes open as the sun came up, so that I had to sleep all day yesterday every chance I could get. Last night from 10 to 12 the old cadets came round plaguing me. 2 of them tried to take my gun away, but could not do it. Another time the grand scarecrow for the new cadets, the Great "Hyankybank" paid me a visit. It was composed of 2 cadets, one below and another mounted on his shoulders with a cloth draping them. The Great Hyank—etc—came up and took hold of my gun, upon which I upset the hyank and spilled the top part on the ground sprawling. I went into battalion last night because I have got my uniform. They say mine is the only plebe coat which fits. I am getting along pretty well. We commence artillery drill today. . . .

VIII. ANDERSON TO MRS. J. W. ANDERSON.

WEST POINT, N. Y.,

Oct. 16, 1860.

*Dear Ma,*

Did you get home safe? What o'clock did you leave here? I could not manage to see you after guard mounting without running great risk. I did not get reported for being at the hotel last night. . . . His Royal Highness<sup>9</sup> came into the recitation room of the 1st section this morning, with all his suite and I had a good look at him. He did not impress me so favorably on second sight. He does not look very stout when

<sup>9</sup> The Prince of Wales, afterward Edward VII.

his overcoats etc. are off, but delicate. Gentlemanly enough looking, though not so manly, as I had at first thought. "They say" that he was much more at home and sociable with the Cadet Officers of the first class, who were invited to see him and be presented at Col Del's house.<sup>10</sup> Seems to be somewhat in awe of the old dukes and lords with him. I did not have the honor of reciting before him, of which I was glad, for I was much befuddled on account of not being able to get out to see you. He went away about half past eleven in the morning and was saluted with 33 guns—a national salute, I think. Don't forget to send me the illustrated papers with the pictures, I don't know what paper it is, but I think it is either Frank Leslie's or the illustrated News. . . . HRH seemed very modest and unassuming. . . .

It is against the regulation to have eatables in rooms and to cook. I suppose this is why we started to make some candy the other night when we thought there would be no inspection. In the first place we "hived" ever so much brown sugar from the mess hall table; about a pound I guess between us, then we got up our fire (gas jet) then our stove a block with 3 nails, and next our pot a tin can in which had been packed peaches preserved. Putting our "conveniences" together we made such a cooking arrangement as this<sup>11</sup> and the room was very dark by which means we could not study much. However we cooked the candy, but had too much butter in it so that it was not eatable. The only satisfaction we got was that we had broken the regulations with impunity. . . .

IX. MRS. J. W. ANDERSON TO ANDERSON.

Thanksgiving Day, 29th,  
CONVENT OF THE SISTERS OF THE DUST,  
179 East 20th Street.

*Dear Will:*

. . . [Mr. Pollock] denied being an abolitionist. I think in about three weeks time, there will not be one to be found, even if there be any now. Right away after them the republicans will white wash themselves, and then all the world will be of one mind, niggers will be nowhere, and there will be an opening for any good subject of quarreling which can stir up the politicians north and south with equal animosity.

. . . I am amused at Mayor Wood's<sup>12</sup> proclamation of Thanksgiving. He can't see anything to be thankful for. He reminds me of a prayer Edward used to put into the mouth of an old lady who sat in the pew behind us at church. "God bless me and my daughter, my son and my son's wife, us four and no more, Amen." The Mayor wants the people to pray that the mischief may fall on the heads of those who made it. Evidently he don't believe in forgiving his enemies. Bennett<sup>13</sup> proposes to pray for Beecher, Greeley, Weed and Webb, but does not remark that we should be thankful for them. Do you see the papers? They are not

<sup>10</sup> The superintendent of the Academy at this time and until Feb., 1861, was Col. Richard Delafield, afterward major-general.

<sup>11</sup> Against this passage occur various illustrations.

<sup>12</sup> Fernando Wood, mayor of New York.

<sup>13</sup> James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald*. The other references are to Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Greeley of the *Tribune*, Thurlow Weed, and James Watson Webb of the *Courier and Enquirer*.

interesting just now. Everybody is holding his breath to see what will happen. I begin to believe it will turn out like the celebrated "Bah!" only the State of South Carolina will enact the part of the old woman in Pekin, and Mayor W. is the man in the Feegee islands. They'll make all the noise. God Bless you.

X. MRS. J. W. ANDERSON TO ANDERSON.

NEW YORK, Dec. 31st, 1860.  
179 East 20th Street.

*Dear Will,*

Yours of the 28th I have just received. I have no hesitation at all in advising you what course to pursue. I have three distinct considerations which influence me in advising you to stay where you are for the present and if you can't be easy, be easy as you can.

In the first place, I think you boys take rather an erroneous view of your positions. You are not exactly commissioned officers yet. You are under a sort of contract to serve the U. S. eight years, and you are under this bond as minors. Now I think you are bound by that contract, but of course no contract ever contemplated that a man should fight his own countrymen. I think you should remain where you are until called upon to fight your own brethren, then sheath your sword and tell all men, law or no law, you will only draw it for your country's enemies. My dear Will, before it comes to that, the Government will fall all to pieces, everything will be chaotic for a while, and then we shall have a new order of things. As for Southerners advising their sons to leave, I do think they would advise them to leave just out of bad temper. The whole country is in a bad temper just now. It is like enough they will come to blows, but my boy, the fighting will be everywhere, except perhaps just where you are, as you have a reputation for biting, rather than barking, and it is the barking dogs who are getting us into hot water. . . .

XI. ANDERSON TO MRS. J. W. ANDERSON.

WEST POINT, N. Y.,  
Feb. 28, 1861.

*Dear Ma,*

I have been rather busy lately, so that I have not been able to write to you. I shall try to be more punctual hereafter, and write oftener. I have studied rather more this term than I did last, but do not see that it will advantage me any. For a time I was head in mathematics, but made a slip one day, and am now in consequence third. I am also third in English. I should be well enough satisfied with my standing if it were not for a sort of partiality on the part of my teacher, which makes me and some others of my section have to work harder for the same marks than others, which is very discouraging as it renders it so hard to regain a lost step. . . . One can't expostulate with him, for when he first commenced teaching us he made us a little speech, saying that in marking us, he made it a matter of conscience. So that he appears to be either wanting in judgment or uprightness. It can't be the latter for he has the reputation of being the most Christian officer on the point, and besides holds a prayermeeting every Thursday evening, at which certain cadets attend, among whom are certain of the favored part of my section. But

enough of this. I would not have bored you so long but that I want to show you why I did not write. . . .

The snow is off the ground up here, and we have commenced dress parades again. Soon drills will commence, but, thank heaven, plebe drills are no more for me. If I am so fortunate as to be appointed a lance corporal in June (which I much doubt, on account of my abrupt leave of the abolition company) I will have the honor of putting some of the new plebes through their paces. The president's appointments have been made already as you have, I suppose already seen.

I look forward with great pleasure to the time when you will be able to come up and see me again. During camp, you know, I shall be quite a gentleman of leisure compared with my status last year.

*Continuation, March 2nd.* . . . I suppose you have seen the account in the Herald of the burning of Cozzens Hotel. Well, on the day it happened, we (the cadets) were in the mess hall at dinner. We (the hungry cadets, including your dutiful son, also very hungry), were just about to pitch into some dinner, and by the same token I remember the day of the week (Friday) for the dinner included soft fish for the Catholically inclined. Well, as I was remarking, we were about plunging "in medias res" when McCook, the fat Lieut. you remember, came in with the adjutant Kingsbury, who immediately called the battalion to attention and said that Cozzens's Hotel was on fire, and that we were to go down with the apparatus, such as it is that we have. We needed no second command. Apart from the fact that any excitement or occurrence out of the ordinary run of events, such as the fire in question, is a grand treat to the corps, Cozzens Hotel is a tabooed place to them, it being "out of limits". We got there pretty soon hauling the old machines after us and running nearly all the way, but when we got there found the engines of no use, for they could not throw water high enough! The fire would have been put out in ten minutes, I should judge, if we had been provided with one decent engine, but we were not so all we could do was to save the out buildings (which the newspaper account erroneously states were all burned up), provisions, crockery, etc., and tear down the doors and window shutters, as these may be made serviceable again. Among the other articles carried out was the contents of the wine cellar, which aforesaid contents has caused two of my class to be at present in arrest on charge of drunkenness. My class, the 5th is the only one not on pledge, or I fear half the corps would be in the same predicament. Others of my class were drunk, and others happy under the influence of the juice of the grape, but no others as the expression is were "hived", that is caught "in flagrante delictu", ain't I awful latinish, I believe it is natural for I've hardly thought of a latin book this year. The consequence of this little escapade will probably be nothing more than getting my class on pledge with the rest, a result very distasteful to most of its members, but which, as you know won't bother me much, except that I have always had a repugnance to pledging myself to anything. It is a restriction of liberty and a tacit denial of a man's competence to take care of himself. But we will all have to sign the pledge whether we like it or not as only on condition of the whole class signing the pledge are men found drunk allowed to stay here, as the penalty by the regulations is immediate dismissal. . . .

XII. MRS. J. W. ANDERSON TO ANDERSON.

NEW YORK, March 10th, 1861.

*Dear Will,*

I ought to have answered your nice long letter some days back, but I, like you, have my time and thoughts so filled up with occupations, that the days slip away very fast, and I find many things undone I would gladly have attended to. To write to you is always more or less on my mind, and if you received all the letters I mentally indite to you, the reading of them might seriously interfere with your studies. This religious teacher, he reminds me of many old sinners of his sort, who used to pester your father. Such men are always found in the army and are generally reckoned a nuisance. They are great producers of hypocrites. I could tell you some funny anecdotes of that sort of teaching Godliness, but will content myself now with one. A boy relating his conversion, remarked that he received from his father "a new pair of trousers as a reward for being converted". I am afraid that men whose vocation it is to teach grammar, mathematics or tactics, and who mark down according to morality, have about as proper ideas of Heavenly things and the way to make them attractive as did this little boy's father. But don't you mind any of these things. If there were no difficulties to be overcome in one's path, where would be the necessity for exertion. Neither can a man choose his misfortunes. Of all things to be regretted in this not over delightful world, the most so I think is the rarity of a truly enlightened Christian gentleman. I can think of but one in all my memory, that one was Doctor Robert Murry, U. S. A. Of course I speak of men who make profession of religion. Your Uncle Mannevillette, with all his odities deserves to be mentioned as another example. Your father was one of the most upright men I ever knew, but he made no profession. Now I have a word more to say in this connection, and it is this—that from the changes going on in the government and consequently in the Army and Navy, it is possible the esprit of West Point may become puritanical altogether. In that case I intend to take upon myself providing no one else does it, to put a hint in circulation, that a Southern Military School where Cadets of Southern feelings could complete their course of studies would be a very desirable affair. You know there is already a South Carolina School, and a Virginia School into either of which you could get admittance, I have no doubt, especially the Virginia School, the superintendent of which, Frank Smith,<sup>14</sup> was one of your father's valued friends. But then it is not clear yet that Virginia will be on the right side in politics. Still it is above all things desirable to graduate at West Point if possible. No other school in the world has such a reputation. No other school in the world gives its graduates such a status. Other schools might be even better, but reputation is not won in a day and for success in this world, reputation is of vast importance, so dig ahead my boy, and you will come out ahead, never fear. . . .

Observe. I am not very apprehensive about the puritanism of which I spoke. Old Abe and his sense keepers are in too much perplexity as yet for any one to predict which way the wind will blow them. I should not be much surprised if there should be such a break down in that direction, that puritanism, republicanism, abolitionism and all should become a

<sup>14</sup> Francis H. Smith, West Point 1833, superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute from 1839 to 1861.

byword and a reproach and people go wild, mad and fanatical in the opposite direction, just as they did in the reign of Charles the second. I have seen nothing of all this in the papers, but you know, I am always a good bit in advance in my opinions, and I have been right so many times, I am beginning to put faith in myself. I could elaborate all these things to you, if we could only talk about it, and show you the small loop holes, through which I can see future events, but they are too tedious to write out. Never mind we'll have an immense deal of talk yet, some of these days. I'll come up and see you as soon as ever I can. I feel sure it will come about very soon, although I do not exactly see how, but I am sure of it, because a strong wish, backed by a strong will is a mighty powerful lever to move events.

Your affectionate,

ELLEN MA.

XIII. MRS. J. W. ANDERSON TO ANDERSON.

NEW YORK, March 23, 1861.

Dear Will,

. . . The Southern Congress seems to be getting on famously, and old Able and his counsellors are struck with confusion. Everybody is grumbling from Watson down to the washerwoman. I suppose you know they would willingly abandon Fort Sumpter if they knew how to do it. Now we have an eminent example of the wisdom of selecting an ignorant back woods farmer and setting him at the head of the government.

I have just replied to a letter from your Uncle Mann. He tells me I am "foolish" in my opinions, but not so foolish as some others. I had a good laugh over his letter, and then wrote him a long political tirade. I don't know how he will take it, for he evidently fancies Old Able, and is one of those who hope great things from him. . . .

XIV. ANDERSON TO MRS. J. W. ANDERSON.

WEST POINT, N. Y., April 12th, 1861.

Dear Ma,

. . . I wish I could come down to see you, but it cant be did, within a year I'm afraid, unless you give me your opinion and permission that I ought to leave here *for good*, before that time. The newspapers are very tempestuous. . . . What do you think of the prospect of a fight now. Both sides have almost (if what we hear be true) gone too far to recede.

. . . I am at present learning the intricate science of cartridge making. I have made 100 now of various kinds. I don't think they'll do much damage, as they are not very admirably constructed. However it is a satisfaction to know that I can make a good one if I want to. The grass is coming out on the plain allright. What do you think, Ma, all Roe's rooms have been engaged for the summer in consequence of the burning of Cozzens. I wish this fuss between N and S was stopped. I'd try to get a leave next summer. Gen Scott could get me one very easily I suspect.

Your affectionate Son,

WILLOUGHBY



XV. ANDERSON TO MRS. J. W. ANDERSON.

WEST POINT, N. Y., April 18, '61.

Dear Mama.

I have refused to take the oath. It was even more unconditional than the one I have sent you, which I copied out of the Regulations. It was more unconditional than the other classes have been made to sign, and consisted of that *part of the oath I sent you*, commencing with the words "I solemnly swear", and ending with "Articles of War".<sup>15</sup> Dear Ma, I considered as thoroughly as I could my position before I went over there, Cadet Dupont of the 1st Class from Delaware but appointed at Large, has been my friend whilst I have been here. His father was a Class Mate of Pa's. He advised me to take the oath. I actually cried before I went over there, so you may conceive how I was bothered mentally. I know well that I resign every thing, prospects in life etc by my action, and that for a little while I will have to increase your expenses, (but I hope soon to get something to do, I don't care what). Well I say I had considered all this well, and, when I went over there, in the chapel—whenever I went up and placed my hand on the Bible, I *would have taken a conditional oath*. I kept my hand on the Bible till the Magistrate got through the *totally unconditional oath*, I have told you about, and required us to kiss the Book, *I couldn't do it*. It was a solemn occasion to me. All my class were in the Chapel. Many of the other classes were there to see the ceremony. The officers of the army were there in their dress coats and epaulets and we wore our side arms. We went up five at a time to take the oath. Before it was taken it was explained that "Cadets constituted a part of the Land forces of the United States", and as near as I gather "took this oath in the same spirit that Officers and soldiers take it". Well Mama I didn't take the oath, and they may pack me off in short order, or dismiss me. But if they will let me resign I will do it, so I want you to date and sign the accompanying paper which I have written, and send it to me. It must be tendered with my resignation. I got your letter, saying that you left what I should do to me and my own conscience, this morning. I have not yet got an answer to a letter I wrote Uncle Manne similar to the one I wrote you, yet. I told him however that if I did not receive his or your answer before I was required to take the oath, I should not take it. I think he will tell me not to take it. It doesn't matter much now except to my feelings. Nine other cadets of my class refused to sign with me. I don't believe a true Southerner signed it. He couldn't. Please if you can,

<sup>15</sup> Apparently the oath required of cadets on this occasion was that prescribed by the act of Mar. 16, 1802, which appears in the regulations for the Military Academy promulgated on Mar. 14, 1853, in the following language: "I,

, do solemnly swear, that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America, and that I will serve them, honestly and faithfully, against all their enemies or opposers whatsoever; and that I will observe and obey the orders of the President of the United States, and the orders of the Officers appointed over me, according to the Rules and Articles of War." A more drastic form of oath, explicitly engaging the taker to "maintain and defend the sovereignty of the United States paramount to any and all allegiance, sovereignty, or fealty I may owe to any state, county, or country whatsoever", was required of all cadets by an act of Aug. 3, 1861.



mail the "permission" by return mail, or as soon as possible. I must now say goodbye for a little while.

Your affectionate son,

E. WILLOUGHBY ANDERSON.

XVI. MRS. J. W. ANDERSON TO E. M. D. BROWN.

NEW YORK, April 19, 1861.

Dear Mann:

I received a nice long letter from Edward<sup>16</sup> yesterday. He arrived at Charleston harbor in season to be at the battle, but was not allowed to land. He sends his love to you.

I copy from his letter so much of the accounts of the battle as I have not seen in the various papers. I say of the battle, but I should say of the fleet, for, as I said before, of the battle he was only a very distant spectator.

"We have been for hours off the harbor, witnesses of the bombardment, but alas! too late for our ship to get in that we may participate. We discovered at daylight yesterday, that the fight had commenced. The excitement it creates with all of us on board is indescribable. I have left the deck to try and reconcile myself to circumstances. Gladly would I have landed on Morris Island, with three others, but the Captain would not listen to it.

"Nine o'clock today. The fort is on fire from the shells of the batteries.

"Eleven o'clock. The once honored stars and stripes have disappeared. The fort has been one dense smoke for hours, still the lower tier of cannon flash away, and the batteries pour in to her in rapid succession.

"Twelve. The firing has ceased, and we can discern, with the glass, the confederate flag floating from all the ships in the harbor.

"We can't get in until tomorrow morning at nine o'clock, as the tide serves too late this afternoon.

"Yesterday the Harriet Lane steared for us and fired a cannon across our bow for the ship to lay too. The captain obeyed the summons. The Lane steamed around us with all the men beat to quarters, with port holes open, and bristling cannon, looking quite warlike and *dangerous*. This manoeuver on the part of the officers, evinced great *coolness* and *courage*—to sail round an unarmed vessel, instead of going to the assistance of their brethren. It certainly shewed much discretion. She did go near enough once to get a shot from one of the batteries, which made her steam away like a quatered horse, without taking time to return the compliment; although armed to the teeth, and commanded by half a dozen bran new officers, all in their nice clothes, with swords belted on. They hailed us—what ship? Where from? and where to? All of which the gentlemen knew before.

"The ships of war belonging to the perjured government lay off the harbor, manned by brave officers and fierce soldiers, with abundance of all the munitions of war, with the most approved weapons of modern warfare, with small rifled cannon, and barges for taking men on shore, for attacking the rebels and reinforcing fort Sumpter, but strange to say, they do not make the first attempt. The ships keep at a very respectable

<sup>16</sup> Another uncle.

distance giving heed to the old saying that discretion is the better part of valor.

"The ships are the frigate Powhatan,<sup>17</sup> one other large steamship with troops, arrived today, the brig. Dolphin, Harriet Lane and transport ship Atlantic."

I had a letter from Will yesterday telling me all the boys were to be made to take the oath of allegiance. I told him in that case, to resign. It is monstrous to make boys *under age* take an oath of allegiance, which actually means not to the whole country, for *of that*, there is no need. The fact of their being there, shows their allegiance to their native land, and also that of their parents or guardians, for I had to give my consent in writing to his obligating himself to serve—but it is *a trap* to make the boys swear allegiance to one political party against another. I scorn the base trick! Will is worthy of his parentage, for in spite of his deep disappointment in having to give up the darling idea of his heart, to wit—to graduate at West Point—in spite of poverty and no work, staring him in the face, in spite of its being the most unpopular act here in the city, which he could just now do, he will not, for all or any of these reasons, take an oath to support the wrong side of a political fight. Never will he draw sword against his native land! No, rather let us live in obscurity, or die, if need be, at the hands of the mob. It would not surprise me if it should come to that. You can have no idea of the rampant state of the abolitionists here in the city. They are jubilant to a degree that is ridiculous. If you do not hear of it, it is because the papers dare not tell the truth. The mob have it all their own way. I asked one of them, who told me it would be dangerous for a man to declare himself a secessionist now, What had become of their boasted liberty of speech? "Yes—ah—people must not be allowed to do wrong" was the gentleman's reply. This man was the secretary to the working man's association last winter. What has become of freedom now?

Yours

ELLEN M. A.

XVII. MRS. J. W. ANDERSON TO ANDERSON.

NEW YORK, April 21, 1861.

Dear Will.

I arrived here last night, safe and sound, and without having encountered any difficulties. It was about ten o'clock when I reached the house. I have felt dissatisfied with myself all along, for not comprehending your position better. I hope you put in your resignation. It did not occur to me, how necessary it was that you should do it at once, until after I had left you. In fact this whole business has bewildered me much after the fashion the death of a beloved friend does; I could not realize it, but it all came clear to me, as I was riding home.

Three letters had been received during my absence; the one from yourself, one from Edward and one from Mannevillette. The latter

<sup>17</sup> The *Powhatan*, which on Secretary Welles's plan was to go to Charleston, had gone instead to Pensacola. So had the *Atlantic*. See General Meigs's narratives, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI. 285-287, 299-302, and references there given. The vessels actually composing the relief expedition were the *Pawnee*, 8 guns, the revenue cutter *Harriet Lane*, 5, the unarmed transport *Baltic*, and (arriving on the afternoon of the 13th) the *Pocahontas*.

containing a draft for thirty dollars, and sundry reasons for your taking the oath; well enough according to his view of the matter, but I opine they should have been sent to you instead of me. It is of no use trying to convert me. I am an old sinner and hardened to my present form of doctrine,—throwing hard names at me makes no impression whatever. Still, I would give you a rehash of his reasons if it were not entirely too late. He begs me not to make you a traitor, and explains also what a rebel is. Now as for the latter, I consider that we have a hereditary right to the title, and as for the former, it is merely calling opinion by a hard name, and as for both, I have no otherwise influenced you than, that, "As the twig is bent the tree's inclined". You are a twig of my rearing, but I think I have let you grow straight and I shall tell him so. He has a good deal to say about the state rights view of the matter, but you know that was not the point which bothered you, or me. Your Uncle Edward is in Charleston and expects to get an appointment right off. He thinks he will be stationed at Morris Island. His cousin Alfred Aldrich—a lawyer and a smart man—is quartermaster General.

The new U. S. Marshall here is out with a request for secret information etc. etc. Be sure and see it in to day's Herald (21st). That is the beginning of nice times. I still think your plan of going directly south with the others the best. If you get in any difficulty whatever, telegraph to me, if possible. Don't fear worrying me. If you choose to go to Charleston and join your Uncle Edward you can be sure of a warm hearted reception and perhaps is your best plan. He is very sorry he has not us in Charleston with him. Now it is certain that your being there would be a very great inducement to me to go, but everything in the future is so uncertain now that I would not have you let that idea influence you. I am sure we shall all see you and that soon somewhere or other, because I am determined on it, of course I am.

By and by, when Generals Fever and Climate take the field, with these northern doctors for aids de camp, there will be no lack of bills of mortality even if the regiments should be as much a mere stratagem, as they pretend the fleet was. But I am of opinion we shall see some terrible fighting before that time, and then these people will begin to come to their senses, and patch up some kind of peace. And then we will all get together and be very smart and make money enough to live upon, and if you have not an A. B. or Lt. to your name, you will have seen something of the world to make up for it. Let us fancy ourselves getting rich enough for you to go to Europe and getting a degree there!!!

My dear Will, you cannot imagine how puzzled I am in attempting to advise you at all. I think I will enclose your Uncle Mann's letter although it is too late to influence you. He says all that can be said on his side of the argument and you can thus satisfy yourself if he would have been likely to influence you. For my part I say there is no United States in the sense in which it was understood when you received your appointment, but I will copy so much of my letter as relates to your affairs. After telling him his reasons came too late, and that I regretted it, I tell him that you wrote to me, and I directed you to do as you pleased, that afterward I went to West Point and found that

"Will had already refused to take the oath. His view of the matter was that the United States as understood when he received his appointment was no longer in existence. In taking the oath of allegiance now, he was taking it to such of the States as are now united and thereby

obligating himself to fight with them against the South. This he was unwilling to do. As for me, I had entirely misunderstood the matter. I had supposed it a test oath in consequence of the present political troubles and not a customary oath administered to all cadets. If I had known it was customary I think I should have taken Will's view of it. I do now take that view of it but that did not influence him, because I did not think of it. I was indignant at their dragging boys into their political quarrels as you must have perceived from my letter to you. I have never influenced Will except in so far as described by the poet 'As the twig etc.' Moreover I think I have let my twigs grow very straight and I am not sure but your reasons would have influenced him had he received them in season. Although too late, I have sent him your letter.

"I have advised him to go South immediately. It would not do for him to come here. There he can get something to do. As both he and I have unpopular opinions here he could not only get nothing to do but would stand a fair chance of seeing the inside of a prison."

That is what I have written. I certainly might have expressed it better as I see in going over it, but I want you to be satisfied that I set the matter in a correct light, and now Will I would not give the thing another care. The lamentable part of it is, that you should be deterred from coming to your home, and that home the once-thought free city of New York, free to licentiousness—the most important city of the freest country upon Earth, and be deterred on account of having acted in accordance with the highest sense of honor and humanity. Well may mankind deplore the passing events.

Georgia thinks my letter will give you the impression that I regret you did not take the oath. Do not entertain such an idea if it so strikes you. What I do regret is the whole trouble, as I said before, I am like a person looking upon the corpse of a dead friend. I cannot help expressing my regret—but I do not the less know that it is no more the living thing I loved.

In regretting that Mann's letter did not come sooner, I think that some how or other you might not have felt so bad about it if you had had some one to talk to you. In fact your description of your state of mind when you were called upon to decide about taking that oath haunts me like the memory of a great misfortune, and I blame myself for my stupidity but it is past now. The more I reflect upon it, the more I feel that you did right, and were influenced by our Father in Heaven to do what was best for you, and now my dear Will this letter must go right or wrong. It is the second I have written to you—having torn one up—and yet scarcely pleases me better than that. God bless you.

Your Mother  
ELLEN

XVIII. ANDERSON TO MRS. J. W. ANDERSON AND HIS SISTERS.

NORFOLK, June 24, '61.

*Dear Mama, and sisters.*

I am well and flourishing, but want to see you very much, so that I am living in hopes of a speedy termination of the war. I am stationed at what is called the Entrenchment Camp, very near Norfolk,—a most miserable place, so far as heat is concerned, but quite healthy I think. Mosquitoes pretty bad. I have a pretty rough time drilling raw recruits,

and making them remember their hay foot from the straw foot. When I am in town (Norfolk) I stay at Mr. Masi's house. He is father of a class mate of mine, and has been very kind to me indeed. . . .

I hope you do not allow yourselves to worry about me. I assure you there is no occasion, for I have got started and if nothing happens I shall do very well. I hope you are all well. In a little while I hope to be able to come after you and bring you South, or stay North with you as the case may be. Of course I prefer the South. You must not get sick or fretted.

I told you when I last wrote (I have some doubts regarding your receipt of the letter though) that I was a Lieutenant in the Virginia Provisional Army. Gov. Letchier<sup>18</sup> has turned over all his appointments lately to President Davis, and a great many of the Provisional Army will be dropped (don't you think we are well supplied with officers). I will not be dropped because I resigned out of the U. S. A. but it is probable that I shall be razeed, i.e. that I shall become a cadet once more. Of course I don't mind that much. It is just and proper. I will be not a cadet in the Prov. Army of Va., but a cadet in the C. S. A. which makes a great deal of differ.

I don't *smoke* any more which you remember you said was the only thing you were afraid of.

Dear Ma don't believe half what you see in the newspapers concerning the battles with the southerners. The newspapers are unreliable even down here in the midst of it. . . .

I wish I had some money to send you but I have not been paid my first months salary yet, and if it had you could not use Virginia money.

. . .

Good bye for the present. This letter must go.

Your affectionate son  
and brother

WILLOUGHBY.

P. S. If you ever try to write to me don't sign your name to your letters. I know all your handwritings like "tactics".

WILLO.

#### XIX. ANDERSON TO MRS. J. W. ANDERSON.

Sep. 30, '61.

*Dear Mama.*

I hope you are all well, and in no danger. I have not been what I call sick for a single day. Thanks to the kind friends I have found. I am still at the old place (N), but I know you cannot write to me, and am very sorry for it. I received the letter you wrote me, and it relieved my mind considerably. I am now in the Regular Confederate Army, the Virginia Prov. Army having broken up on the 1st Sept. I have applied to be put in the Engineer Corps, and Secretary Mallory<sup>19</sup> told me I had been successful the other night. I shall go today for my commission. I suppose my high standing at West Point, I was about 2nd when I left, and also going four years to college before that gave it to me. Anyhow, I am very thankful. I went to see Mr. William Taylor, he

<sup>18</sup> John Letcher. On April 25 the Virginia convention had ratified the offensive and defensive alliance with the Confederacy.

<sup>19</sup> Confederate Secretary of the Navy.

has two very nice sons and one daughter, but I dare not tell you any news because I wish to make sure of your receiving this letter. There were only three cadets put in the Engineers, Jones, a second class man, Rowland, head of the class above me,<sup>20</sup> and myself. I think I am fortunate. I had some notion of going to Florida coast this winter, but I have found people so kind in Norfolk, especially the Masi's, that I think I shall go back there. How I wish I could see you all. Only one letter in four months, I have to make the most of it. You must keep up your spirits and make Georgia and Villette run about, but not too late in the evening, but I must say good bye or I shall say something to stop my letter, which will probably be read. I shall seize every opportunity to write to you, but you need not try to write to me as I don't think it possible.

Goodbye for the present.

Your affectionate son,

WILLOUGHBY.

<sup>20</sup> William R. Jones, Va., appointed in 1857; Thomas Rowland, appointed at large in 1859.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*Law in History and other Essays.* By EDWARD P. CHEYNEY, LL.D.,  
Professor of European History, University of Pennsylvania.  
(New York: A. A. Knopf. 1927. Pp. viii, 174. \$2.00.)

To the historian Professor Cheyney's volume offers through its essays, distributed over a period of twenty years, the record of a significant progress of thought of one fellow-historian regarding the science of history.

What is history? In the earliest essay bearing this title, the author indicates that "it connotes little more than the fact that the matters under consideration occurred in the past rather than in the present", and that "the past is looked at simply, directly, objectively; it is conceived of as merely something to be described and explained" (p. 142). Six years later he indicates, in "The Tide of History", that "in history . . . we trace clearly connected lines of cause and effect, we perceive complicated interrelations" (p. 82). Two years later he writes, "The historian . . . can only look back across the ages, see dimly the course of events . . . and occasionally make a generalization, to be lightly held and dismissed if disproved" (p. 35). And then, after the war, he speaks prophetically before the American Historical Association of the future of history as a prognostic science of control (pp. 28 f.). But, speaking in 1926 on "History among the Sciences", he admits that this use of history for prognosis may be turned to propagandist ends, and urges the dispassionate, searching inquiry, without fear or favor, of which he had spoken back in 1907 (p. 158).

Has he, then, abandoned the conception of law in history? By no means; it grows upon him, rather. The earliest essay says nothing; but in 1913 he distinguishes "two realms of history, the one and far the greater part that of the fundamental underlying conditions, cyclical changes, irresistible movements; the other that of the personal and exceptional. . . . The former shares the character of the immutable laws of physical nature, the latter has all the attraction of the apparently free action of the human will" (p. 77; cf. pp. 82, 86, 88). But a different conception of law in history is implicit in the two essays that follow. In writing on "The Agitator in History" and on "Historical Tests of Democracy" he uses the comparative method for establishing certain generalizations on these matters. This is closely akin to the case-studies of the psychologist and the "repeated" experiments of the laboratory scientist. The title essay contends for the establishment of "laws of history" (p. 10), and lists the following: continuity, mutability, inter-



dependence, democracy, necessity for free consent, and moral progress (pp. 10-24). One feels uneasily close here to a *Geschichtsphilosophie*. Then, as though some one had warned him, the author becomes more cautious (pp. 169 f.); but insists upon the value of finding the laws (p. 171), and is convinced of its certainty in "an organized or organizable universe" (p. 173).

The reader has the definite feeling that the author is theorizing with unsatisfying results in the direction of general laws and employing a crude comparative method with suggestive significance in specific areas of historical action. May it not be that a refinement of the comparative method holds the clue which he is hunting (in pp. 173, 170, 9 f.)? That he is on the verge of discovery is clear on page 73. Meanwhile, attempts to solve the old problem of libertarianism are either denied (p. 73), or made in vain (pp. 78, 9, 29).

A growing sense of the dependence of history on related sciences is revealed through the book, from the vague demand for "keenness of mental analysis" (p. 147) through a general recognition of psychology and sociology (p. 88), to the clearer statement of their special contribution (p. 9).

Of what use is history? Here, perhaps, the author has made his greatest progress, though with sane judgment. The change of view, frankly acknowledged in his introduction, is very apparent as one turns from the study of history which "does not place it in the service of any other particular branch of knowledge, but allows it to exist for its own sake" (p. 142), to the attitude of "hope . . . of the discovery of prevailing tendencies or 'laws' in human affairs that may suggest the normal course of events" (p. 170), albeit tempered with caution (p. 169).

This book is the work of a scholar who knows life about him, open-minded yet cautious, painstaking yet enjoyable to read.

EDWIN E. AUBREY.

*The Social Sciences and their Interrelations.* Edited by WILLIAM FIELDING OGBURN, Professor of Sociology, Columbia University, and ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1927. Pp. viii, 506. \$3.50.)

THIS formidable volume is presented by its editors as a work that they hope "will be useful for the state of society and the social sciences in the first part of the twentieth century". Its usefulness exceeds this modest estimate, however, for it is a most suggestive and clarifying survey of social scientific methodology.

A cautious arrangement of the social sciences in alphabetical order is presumably designed to allay jealousies! Accordingly, anthropology comes in for first consideration, and its relations are traced with economics, ethics, history, law, political science, psychology, religion, sociology, and statistics, respectively. Economics is next discussed in relation to ethics, law, political science, psychology, and statistics. Four

essays trace the methodological contacts of history with economics, political science, psychology, sociology, and statistics. Political science is followed by sociology, the last receiving seven chapters. That one editor is an anthropologist and the other a sociologist need hardly be said!

The prefatory warning of "variability of treatment" is amply justified. Some of the essayists give an historical sketch of the relations of the two sciences treated with a minimum of logical analysis. Others essay a systematic analysis of content and method in the two sciences as the basis for mutual adjustment and co-operation. Still others devote their major attention to defense of a particular technic or theory. Curiously enough, the attempts to relate philosophy to one or all the social sciences both arrive at an outline of the author's social philosophy, contributing little to the understanding of social science methodology.

From the book as a whole one gathers certain definite impressions. There is a healthy humility among the social scientists, which will be much enhanced by the essay of Morris Cohen on the Social Sciences and the Natural Sciences! Such humility is explained by the youth of the social sciences, among which even the new history is an adolescent patriarch. It is accompanied by an eagerness for collaboration which augurs well for social research; though, of course, this group of authors is *ipso facto* especially co-operative. That the social sciences are brought close together by the large number of problems faced in common, as well as by considerations of logical interdependence, becomes very clear to the reader of this admirable symposium. A glance at the list of writers is sufficient to guarantee the standard of the essays.

To the historian the volume will be valuable for its six essays on interrelations of history. Olmstead traces the relations of history and anthropology from the earlier mutual ignoring to their present rapidly growing collaboration, facilitated by common methods and attitudes in research, and by the genetic view of human history. Seligman sketches the significance of economics for history as freely acknowledged in the economic interpretation so prevalent. Holcombe's essay on history and political science shows the non-historical approach of earlier political science and of many of present-day schools; and concludes that both their inadequacy and the success of the much more recent historical approach justify closer co-ordination of the two sciences. A careful appraisal of the relation of psychology to history by Wallis stresses the importance of "mental patterns" as determined by tradition, custom, and opinion. Franz Oppenheimer of Frankfurt, in discussing history and sociology, defines history as "a descriptive doctrine of the ideal . . . from the standpoint of a definite group", and makes it an *object* of sociological study! From this angle of criticism, sociology is in a position, he maintains, to help illuminate history-writing. In Faulkner's brief sketch of the recent alliance of history with statistics is offered a point of view which serves well as an answer to Oppenheimer.

The editors of the volume have obviously surmounted many difficulties in this compilation, and they have made a valuable contribution in the direction of the hope expressed in their opening chapter: "the clarification and furtherance of the social sciences" as potentially "the contribution of the twentieth-century to human thought and power".

EDWIN E. AUBREY.

*Environment and Race: a Study of the Evolution, Migration, Settlement, and Status of the Races of Man.* By GRIFFITH TAYLOR, D.Sc., B.E., B.A., F.R.G.S., Foundation Fellow of the Australian National Research Council, Head of the Department of Geography in the University of Sydney. (London: Oxford University Press. 1927. Pp. xvi, 354. 21 s.)

In this volume Professor Taylor has gathered together, adapted, and amplified a series of papers and addresses published by him between 1919 and 1923. Although rather widely divergent in matter, they acquire a definite unity through the insistence on the overwhelming importance of environment in determining the past, the present, and the future of the human race.

In the introduction the fundamental theory of the second part is outlined. This is, that the evolution and dispersion of the races of man has been a process exactly analogous to that suggested by Matthews for the mammalia as a whole—a Central Asian centre of origin, with centrifugal migrations thence to all the rest of the world. On this theory, the oldest and most primitive races should be found in the extreme marginal areas, while the successively later and more highly evolved ones have a zonal distribution about the originating nucleus in which the latest and most highly developed form is to be found. As such, the Alpine-Mongoloid peoples, occupying the core of the Asiatic continent, are recognized. This zonal distribution of the races of man is then said to parallel, and be conditioned by, a zonal distribution of environment, climate, and vegetation around the same Asiatic centre. The author recognizes four primary races—Negroid, Hamitic, Iberian (Mediterranean), and Alpine-Mongoloid—and conceives them to have been successively evolved in the Central Asiatic area, as a result of the shifting of environments and peoples consequent on the four advances and retreats of the ice-sheet during the glacial period. In part II. the general principles outlined are applied in detail to each of the various continents.

Although Professor Taylor's discussion of environmental conditions and changes is in general admirable (even if he is a little too ready to accept considerable historic changes), and the general principle of a wide dispersion of races and marginal distribution of older forms seems sound, the details and many of the conclusions can not, in the reviewer's opinion, be accepted, for the following reasons. The conclusions are reached in large measure only as a result of (1) a faulty conception of the criteria of race and the use of a false method, (2) pressing too closely the

analogy of the spread of man to that of mammals as a whole, (3) over-generalization and over-simplification of actually complex phenomena, (4) a not infrequent disregard of historical and archaeological factors, and (5) the use of inaccurate or faulty data. The first misconception is fundamental. Professor Taylor pins his faith primarily upon the cephalic index alone, and furthermore to mere averages, which so often completely mask the real facts of variability. No theory of racial origins or dispersion which relies so largely on a single criterion, and which fails to take into account the range and character of variability in the criteria employed, can hope to achieve any valid results. The fact that after attaining the rudiments of culture man has become more and more independent of environmental control makes the pressing of the original analogy with the lower animals increasingly untrue. That all the various races were developed in sequence, each from its predecessor in a single phylum, that this development took place in one single area, and that Central Asia was the area in question, are conclusions from which most anthropologists would, I think, rather strongly dissent.

If however one must, as I believe, deprecate the methods employed by Professor Taylor, and hesitate to accept his conclusions as to the origin and dispersion of races, his discussion of the history and present status of white settlement in Australia, as controlled by the factor of environment, deserves high praise. He shows with admirable clearness the enormous environmental disabilities under which Australia suffers, and demonstrates the impossibility of its being able to support a large population. In the concluding section of the book, in which a forecast is made of the distribution and probable density of the white population of the world some centuries hence, the author has utilized an ingenious and valuable means of approach to the problem, although some of the results reached—such as a population of twenty-five million for the Utah area—seem to the reviewer open to considerable doubt.

R. B. DIXON.

*Political Philosophy from Plato to Jeremy Bentham.* By Dr. GÉZA ENGELMANN. Translated by KARL FREDERICK GEISER, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in Oberlin College, with introductions by OSCAR JÁSZI, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in Oberlin College. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1927. Pp. xxiv, 398. \$3.00.)

THE volume in hand presents in English a brief work written in German by a scholarly young Hungarian lawyer and published in 1923 under the title *Meisterwerke der Staatsphilosophie*. The political masterpieces selected by Engelmann are thirteen, as follows: Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's *Politics*, Aquinas's *Government of Princes*, Hobbes's *De Cive*, Spinoza's *Tractatus Politicus*, Locke's *Civil Government*, Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*, Rousseau's *Social Contract*, *The Federalist*, and Bentham's *Introduction to a Project for a Constitutional Code*. All German

works are omitted, with the author's explanation that he plans a separate volume for them. No explanation is offered for the omission of works of such men as Bodin and Harrington. Engelmann does not give a critical exposition of the works with which he deals; nor does he give selected excerpts from them. He pursues instead the following unusual method: for each work the leading ideas are set forth in the manner that Engelmann supposes that the original author would himself state them if he were attempting, in a brief discourse, to put them before readers of to-day, in so far as those ideas could be regarded as of interest and importance to readers of to-day.

In most instances Engelmann executes his plan with surprising success, reproducing faithfully, clearly, and in logical order, the thoughts of the writers for whom he is speaking. The reproduction of Plato is exceptionally effective; several of the others are almost equally good; that of Rousseau seems notably inadequate. Where the method, in actual trial with students or other beginning readers in political theory, may fail somewhat in fulfilling its general aim is in the matter of interest and emphasis. When a writer attempts to paraphrase, rather than either to interpret or to quote, the work of another writer, the reader ordinarily gets the style of neither the latter nor the former; so that he may find that his reading lacks something in vividness and color. Moreover, even a faithfully proportioned paraphrase supplies relatively little assistance to the reader in the way of stress upon distinctive ideas in the several writings reproduced.

However, to "put over" Plato, Hobbes, Montesquieu, and the others, in brief space, is a difficult task, and should be tried by any genuine method that is available. The book in hand affords us a favorable opportunity for trying the method of compressed paraphrase, and for comparing that method with those of critical analysis and selected excerpts. For the merits of Engelmann's German work are fully preserved in this English rendition. There are scattered places where the reviewer might prefer a slightly different wording. In the top line of page 205, Professor Jászi uses "legislative" where he must have meant to say "executive". On page 300, in Professor Geiser's translation of Engelmann's condensation of *The Federalist*, the word "Senate" is used for "*Bundesrath*", although the context shows clearly that Engelmann had in mind the federal Congress as a whole, not its upper house; for he could not have been representing Hamilton as trying to persuade his readers that equal representation in the federal Senate was "contrary to the fundamental principles of a republican constitution"; moreover, Engelmann several times uses "*Senat*" to indicate "Senate". But such flaws are difficult to find. Professor Geiser's translation is excellent in its clearness, correctness, and smoothness; and Professor Jászi's brief introductions are written with unusual brilliance of analysis and with considerable originality in describing the setting of each treatise and in indicating significant relationships between its doctrines and relevant doctrines of earlier and later times.

F. W. COKER.

*Storia della Magna Grecia.* Per EMANUELE CIACERI, Professore Ordinario della Reale Università di Napoli. Tomo II., *La Grande Civiltà del Mezzogiorno d'Italia: Sviluppo, Potenza, ed Azione Politica degli Stati Italiani.* (Milan, Rome, and Naples: Albrighi, Segati, and Company. 1927. Pp. xv, 476. 48 lire.)

In this volume Professor Ciaceri continues the history of Magna Graecia from the seventh to the middle of the fourth century. In the first part of the book the author describes the cultural development of the Greek colonies. The early settlers were at first welcomed by the native population, and there was a certain amount of fusion of the two races. This Italo-Greek civilization did not develop solely along the lines of that of the mother country but was influenced in many respects by the culture of the Italian stock. This may be seen in the assimilation of primitive indigenous cults and myths by the Greeks, in the higher position, socially and legally, which women enjoyed in the new foundations, and in the practical turn which Pythagorean philosophy took in its development in southern Italy, where its followers paid special attention to the sciences of medicine, mathematics, astronomy, and politics. The Eleatic school, which arose in opposition to the Pythagoreans, was more abstract and had no influence on the life of the people. The author does not attempt to give a full discussion of the tenets of the rival schools, but is content with tracing the influence of the Pythagoreans on the various aspects of the culture of Magna Graecia.

The second part of the volume is devoted to the political history of the individual states from 700 to *ca.* 350 B. C. In an introductory chapter the author gives an excellent sketch of the economic background of the various cities and of their commercial affiliations in the East and West. Since Rhegium controlled the Straits, most of the cities developed trade routes across the peninsula and founded colonies at their termini on the Tyrrhenian Sea. Sybaris, enjoying commercial relations with Miletus and the Etruscans, rapidly became wealthy, though the tradition of Sybarite luxury Professor Ciaceri ascribes to prejudiced sources emanating from the rival city of Croton. The latter was allied to Samos in the East and the enmity between Miletus and Samos found its counterpart in the rivalry of Croton and Sybaris. When Sybaris was destroyed by Croton the latter gained the commercial supremacy of southern Italy and maintained this position until the middle of the fifth century. The weakening of Croton is ascribed by the author to internal political factions, but it seems to the reviewer that some account should be taken of the effect of the foundation of Thurii by Athens as a pan-Hellenic colony near the site of ancient Sybaris. It may be noted that, soon after the founding of Thurii, Samos revolted from the Delian Confederacy and it is possible that the Samians felt that the Athenian policy in the western Mediterranean was directed against their trade with Croton. After the Persian wars Athens had inherited much of the trade of the Ionian cities



with the West, and it is probable that Athenian merchants desired still more. At any rate direct intervention of Athens in the West begins in the middle of the fifth century and treaties were made with a number of states in Sicily and Italy. In Naples, particularly, it is evident that Athenian influence became paramount. The collapse of Athenian foreign policy in the West came with the defeat of the Sicilian expedition, and thereafter the destinies of the cities of Magna Graecia were determined by the tyrants of Syracuse and by the pressure of the native peoples of the Italian peninsula.

The destruction of the Etruscan power at sea off Cumae (474 B. C.) and the loss of their territory in Latium and Campania not only materially lessened the commercial interests which the Greek cities had formerly enjoyed with the Etruscans but also left the Greeks in Campania directly exposed to the invasions of the Samnites, and by the end of the century Greek influence in this district was practically limited to Naples.

In the fifth and fourth centuries the pressure of Lucanians and Iapygians made itself felt in the west and south of Italy. Posidonia became Lucanian and its name was changed to Paestum. After the founding of Thurii, Tarentum took the lead of the Greek states and under the wise statesmanship of its rulers, especially of Archytas, flourished exceedingly. The alliance of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, with the Lucanians, although not of long duration, seriously weakened the Thurians and their allies. In this chapter (VII.) it is difficult to accept the author's conclusions that this alliance was dictated by the desire of Dionysius to control Rhegium, or that his hostility to the latter city was actuated by a fear that Rhegium would ally itself with the Carthaginians, who would use the city as a base against Syracuse. Rhegium had a strong strategic position in its control of the Straits, and the commercial interests of Syracuse demanded unrestricted passage for their ships northward. The destruction of Rhegium and the control of Messina not only gave Syracusan commerce free outlet through the Straits, but also enabled Syracuse to control to a great extent the trade routes between the Greek East and the West.

Professor Ciaceri has done an admirable piece of work. The literary sources, always scanty, are usually derived from late writers and are often untrustworthy. These he has examined with keen critical ability and by his use of supplementary archaeological evidence—especially the coins—he has succeeded in reconstructing a valuable and vivid sketch of the history of Magna Graecia. Inevitably there are great gaps. In the case of some cities little survives except their issue of coins, but until complete excavations reveal their story in greater detail this book is likely to remain our best authority on the history of Greek civilization in southern Italy.

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.



*Five Roman Emperors: Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, A. D. 69-117.* By BERNARD W. HENDERSON, M.A., D.Litt., Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford, Fellow of University College, London. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1927. Pp. xiv, 357. 21 s.)

MR. HENDERSON'S contributions to the history of the early Roman Empire are well known to all its students. Nero, the emperors of the "year of the four emperors", and Hadrian are the heroes of his earlier books. The gap between the four emperors and Hadrian is now filled by the book here under review. It is dedicated to the memory of the late Henry Francis Pelham and is based to a certain extent on the lectures delivered by Pelham at Oxford and never published by that great historian of Rome. There is a crying need for good up-to-date monographs on the Flavians and Trajan. New and valuable material has been accumulated since the publication of the excellent books of Gsell on Domitian and of De la Berge on Trajan, and these books, excellent as they are, must be regarded now as antiquated, at least in some parts. The monograph of Mr. Henderson is therefore most welcome, though it is not exactly the monograph which we so sadly needed.

Some of the chapters of his book are excellent, especially those which deal with the military expeditions of Domitian and Trajan and the military measures taken by the Flavians and Trajan for protecting the Roman Empire. Most welcome for English and American readers are, *e.g.*, chapters V. and VI., which deal with the Flavians on and beyond the Rhine, and with the German-Raetian Limes and which give the finest up-to-date summary in English of the great work done by the German archaeologists and historians for investigating with the help of the spade the military, social, economic, and religious history of the Rhine frontier of the Roman Empire. Henderson is certainly right in emphasizing how much was done by Domitian for the safety of the Roman Empire and how little appreciated was his work by his contemporaries. Whether, however, this means that he is equally right in trying to "save the memory" of Domitian altogether is another question. Domitian "the tyrant" remains a problem even after the book of Henderson.

As useful as the chapters on the military achievements of the Flavians are those chapters which deal with the wars of Trajan on the Danubian frontier and on the Euphrates and the Tigris. Here again Mr. Henderson is the first to give a true and special summary of the great archaeological and historical work done by the interpreters of the three greatest monuments of Trajan's rule—the arch of Beneventum, the tropaeum of Adam Klissi, and the column of the Forum Trajanum. It is a pity however that the author has not done for the Danube and the Euphrates and Arabia the same work that he has done for the Rhine, *i.e.*, a summary of the archaeological work carried out by the Austrians for investigating the Austrian or Danube "Limes", and by some scholars, *e.g.*, Chapot and

Brünnow-Domaszewski, for giving a picture of the Syrian and Arabian "Limes".

While thus the contributions of Henderson to the military history of the Roman Empire in A. D. 69-117 are important and valuable, the other parts of his book are of less value. I have not found that his chapters on the institutional history of this period are convincing and up-to-date. The same must be said of his casual remarks on the social and economic history of the time, and on the religious policy of Domitian and Trajan. However this may be, the book is worth reading, and stimulating. No doubt the future authors of monographs on the Flavians and on Trajan of which I spoke at the beginning of this review will find the book of Henderson very helpful.

M. ROSTOVITZEFF.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature.* By HOWARD R. PATCH, Ph.D., Litt.D., Professor of English in Smith College. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1927. Pp. xii, 215. \$5.00.)

IN this volume Professor Patch extends into a wider field his investigation of the literary history of the goddess Fortuna, some earlier results of which were published in *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages* in 1922-1923. The conclusions presented in these papers are incorporated in chapter I. of the present volume, "The Philosophy of Fortune"; the remaining pages, amounting to about four-fifths of the whole, are devoted to a detailed and amply documented account of the treatment of Fortuna in the literature of medieval England, France, and Italy.

In his first chapter, Professor Patch distinguishes three mental attitudes toward Fortuna which persisted throughout the Middle Ages: the pagan, which regarded the goddess as an independent ruling power; the attitude of compromise, illustrated by Boethius, which regarded her as a power sharing the universe with some other force, their relation not being precisely defined; and the Christian, exemplified pre-eminently in Dante, to whom Fortuna was "a ministering angel entirely subservient to the Christian God". The reflection of these philosophies of Fortune in Italian literature is traced from Dante to Machiavelli; in the briefer treatment accorded the literature of France, the *Manekine* of Philippe de Beaumanoir is selected as exhibiting the Christian conception, the pagan being reflected in the poetry of courtly love. The philosophy of Chaucer echoes both Boethius and Dante; Lydgate and Hoccleve represent respectively the Christian and the pagan conception. The chapter concludes with the question, very tentatively answered at this point, of the extent to which "an actual faith in the capricious deity" persisted.

This material is not articulated with what follows; with chapter II. Professor Patch changes his method, proceeding to "study the composite portrait of Fortune in the Middle Ages" with the explanation that "here we are not so much concerned with the philosophy of Fortune as with her paraphernalia". His impressive inventory of "paraphernalia" reflects an extended and thorough search in the allegorical literature of the period, and offers to the student interested in the medieval mode of personification a wealth of conveniently classified reference. Chapter-headings for this portion of the book indicate the range and larger divisions of the subject: "Traditional Themes of Fortuna", "Functions and Cults", "The Dwelling-Place", and "Fortune's Wheel". With the subheads comes some perhaps inevitable overlapping of categories, as for example "Activities" of chapter II., section V., with "Functions" of chapter III. But the general directions are controlled by Mr. Patch's useful index; the reader should have no difficulty in finding his way to any desired matter. He may perhaps be surprised to find, under "Fortune's Wheel", no mention of the well-known alliterative poem on Fortune known as "Somer Soneday" (printed by Wright in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, II. 7-9), which sets forth the downfall of an English king from his seat of eminence on the wheel—an instance of some interest, inasmuch as the poet's attitude toward Fortune must here reflect his political sympathies. A foot-note reference to "*Reliquiae Antiquae*, II. 8", does indeed stand on page 155, but in misleading conjunction with a reference to Madden's edition of the *Awntrs of Arthur*—a poem with which "Somer Soneday" has, as is known, verbal affiliations.

But the noting of omissions, chance or intentional, from Mr. Patch's lists would be a labor of folly; the author disclaims pretense to exhaustiveness, and his closely packed pages impress upon the reader the hitherto unrecognized range and richness of the literary treatments of Fortuna in the Middle Ages. Of interest, too, are the curious parallelisms brought to light in this study, as the occasional identification of Fortuna with Venus in the Court of Love poetry, and the astonishing similarity, in certain concrete attributes, presented by pictorial representations of Fortuna and of the Blessed Virgin—parallelisms which illustrate the unexpected and devious ways of *motif* in products of the medieval imagination. The reviewer can not forbear, in this connection, suggesting the correspondence between certain aspects of the dualism in the portraiture of Fortuna—notably the "one eye laughing, the other weeping"—and similar optic phenomena in some descriptions of Antichrist. The parallel may not be altogether fantastic, in view of the character of Fortuna as registered by the Church Fathers.

Aside from the obvious usefulness of this volume as a storehouse of allusion and reference, its significance as contributing to our understanding of medieval thought is somewhat elusive. As Mr. Patch says, "the very number of the references means something"—does it mean more than the amazing popularity of Fortune as a decorative rhetorical figure?

For the author, the challenge offered by his material is the problem of an actual "cult of the goddess"; and in his conclusion he commits himself, although guardedly, to the belief that a "cult" existed. In the opinion of the reviewer, Mr. Patch has created some confusion by his use of this term in a double sense. As used in the titles of chapters and subchapters, it can not convey the original implications of worship and the solidarity of worshippers without begging the question of the survival of "cult" raised in conclusion. On the other hand, the evidence for the persistence of a "cult" in the larger and looser modern sense of "group-homage to an idea" is so obvious as hardly to demand the forms of argument at all. One feels, however, that the author's real conclusion is registered earlier in the book, in the statement (p. 87) that the richness of the treatments of Fortuna in medieval literature "becomes an argument worthy of attention for the survival of the goddess, at least in the mediaeval imagination". So far, certainly, one can go; one can hardly hope to derive a conscious philosophy from fragments of imaginative literature, of a type wherein convention is almost indistinguishably fused with thought.

The usefulness of the volume is greatly enhanced by the plates, many of which represent originals little known and difficult of access.

BEATRICE DAW BROWN.

*The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century.* By CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, Gurney Professor of History and Political Science in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1927. Pp. iv, 437. \$5.00.)

I FIRST heard last spring that Professor Haskins's new book was out from a bookseller who happened to mention how much he was enjoying it. The news led me to surmise what I afterwards found to be the truth, namely, that Mr. Haskins had produced another book of the type of *The Normans in Europe*, one that shows the master hand in the breadth and sweep of its plan, and in the authenticity of its material, and that still is written with sufficient simplicity to please a layman with only a general acquaintance with the Middle Ages. Not, however, that *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* does not meet a real want for the student. For a long while we have been looking for a connected survey of the intellectual achievement of that stirring and creative period. Taylor's *Medieval Mind* contains careful and systematic accounts of what was done by the eleventh century and by the thirteenth but its treatment of the twelfth is singularly sketchy and piecemeal. Poole's studies in medieval thought are, as everyone knows, limited to the spheres of church and politics.

In his preface Mr. Haskins defines his subject as "the Latin side of the intellectual activity of the twelfth century", that is, "the Latin classics and their influence, the new jurisprudence and the more varied historiography, the new knowledge of the Greeks and Arabs and its effects upon Western science and philosophy, and the new institutions of learn-

ing, all seen against the background of the century's centres and materials of culture". In a dozen chapters, each followed by a bibliography, he enlarges upon the topics thus indicated, beginning with the Historical Background, where he proves that the new movement originated far back in the eleventh century and thus antedated the Crusades, and concluding with an account of the starting of the universities.

Many of the chapters, such as those on the revival of the Latin classics, jurisprudence, science, and philosophy, even the delightful one on Books and Libraries, repeat necessarily much that has been said elsewhere by Mr. Haskins himself and others. Yet the majority of them do more than this. The chapter on Latin classics cites individual manuscripts, like the anthologies in the Vatican and the Bibliothèque Nationale, and closes with several fresh pages on what Rome meant to the medieval imagination. The chapter on the revival of jurisprudence combines in a new way such familiar matters as the Digest, Irnerius, and Gratian, the growth of custom and feudal law, and the royal administrative systems of England and Sicily. A special feature of the book is its method of associating the popular and practical aspects of a subject with the learned and academic. It seldom remains long in an atmosphere of theory. The chapter on Latin language contains an exceptionally clear account of grammars and dictionaries and manuals of letter-writing. One misses perhaps the quotations that would show the sound and style of contemporary prose, corresponding with those in the chapter on Latin poetry. The chapters on science and on the translators from Greek and Arabic are useful condensations of material which Mr. Haskins has already treated authoritatively in his *Studies in Medieval Science*.

Other chapters, those in particular on Intellectual Centres and Historical Writing, are original in their very conception and have no counterparts in any book with which I am familiar. Take, for example, the birdseye view of the monasteries and cathedrals, courts, castles, and towns of Western Europe, and the roads over which men travelled between them, each estimated according to its value as a source or channel of the intellectual life of the century, and all with so sure a judgment and so nice a use of detail to give reality to the whole. Here you learn what kind of documents were indispensable to a monastery and why a secretary was needed in a castle.

As for the chapter on Historical Writing, it is probably the most illuminating and imaginative of them all. After a few preliminary pages on the annals and other early attempts at record-keeping, it describes in turn the perspective with which the twelfth century looked back upon the past, and then the kinds of people and events which it itself thought worth remembering for the future—saints, emperors, bishops, lords, religious wars, Crusades. There are apt quotations from contemporary biographies and chronicles. We get a subjective estimate of the period and its standard of worth, noting meanwhile here and there the protest of the rare sceptic, and at last the signs that foretell the rising power of

that secular, vernacular-speaking "world of courts and towns", that was coming so fast into being. Neither Wattenbach nor Molinier, to whom Mr. Haskins refers in his bibliography, make of their historiography such a mirror of an age.

The one chapter that invites criticism and that seems perfunctory and unsatisfactory, by comparison, is that on the revival of philosophy. We needed a clear, untechnical, and understanding statement of the position of philosophy in this century. We do not find it here; indeed, one-half of the twenty-four pages is spent on subjects that are not philosophy at all, the dialectic method, political theory, and freedom of thought. Is it fair, by the way, to cite the emperor Frederick II. as an example of the liberty allowed to free-thinkers? Nor in discussing the philosophers should the impression be given that the influence of Plato ceased with the recovery of the works of Aristotle in Latin versions. To be sure, the three translated dialogues were scarcely read in the thirteenth century and were not included in university curricula. But even the triumph of Aristotelian science could not remove Platonism or its offspring, Neo-Platonism, from medieval theology, shaped as that had been centuries before by minds trained in Platonic views of the universe. For proof of this see Thomas Aquinas on Creation, on Sin, on Immortality, or Dante in his *Paradise*. Traini, Benozzo Gozzoli, and other artists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were not altogether wrong in painting Thomas with Aristotle on his right hand and Plato on his left.

L. R. LOOMIS.

*The Forerunners of St. Francis, and Other Studies.* By ELLEN SCOTT DAVISON. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1927. Pp. xvi, 425. \$5.00.)

THIS book is a revision and expansion of material left by the late Miss Davison; the greater part of it deals with those whom she regarded as forerunners of St. Francis (the theme she chose for her doctoral dissertation), the rest is devoted to studies in the social history of the Middle Ages. The natural hesitation that causes one to sheathe the sword of criticism when it falls to one's lot to deal with posthumous publications is not lessened by the reading of Professor Shotwell's appreciative foreword, nor by the knowledge that an immense amount of work has apparently been done by the editor.

The studies in the social history of the Middle Ages, which fill little more than a fifth of the volume, open with Refugees of Another Day, an unusually vivid account of the siege of Bellême in 1229 and the sufferings which it brought to common folk. The other studies, appropriately grouped together by the editor under the caption "Glimpses of Mediaeval Life", are mere fragments: two of them, sketches which Miss Davison began but did not complete; the rest, the piecing together of notes that she had compiled. In somewhat the same manner in which, years ago, Dr. Hubert Hall gave us pictures of *Court Life under the*



*Plantagenets*, Miss Davison gives us snapshots of medieval France. With an ease and sureness of touch that can come only from a thorough mastery of her material she places before us portraits, exceedingly clear-cut and lifelike, of burghers and priests and merchants and men-at-arms, each against an appropriate background. The visualizing imagination thus brought into play, and the sense of the picturesque, are not exercised at the expense of accuracy; the author gives us indeed glimpses of medieval life, not figments of her fancy. The reviewer feels constrained to note his amazement at finding, in studies so well buttressed with references to source-material, an allusion (p. 359) to Samson "when he slew the beasts of Ephesus with the jawbone of an ass". He doubts whether even a medieval cleric would thus fuse—and confuse—*Judges* xv. 15 and *I Corinthians* xv. 32.

The major portion of the book, that devoted to the forerunners of St. Francis, much more closely approximates the customary doctoral dissertation. Only four of the eight chapters are from Miss Davison's pen: the introductory chapter, and those dealing with the Cathari, Arnold of Brescia, and the Humiliati; and they have been rewritten and given wider scope. The two chapters on Monastic Reformers and that on the Waldensians have been added in accordance with Miss Davison's plan, and "it is hoped that they follow more or less closely her own conception". The conclusion is seemingly the editor's work.

To one reader, at least, these chapters proved a disappointment. The introductory chapter contains much that seems hardly germane to the subject and a number of statements that are open to question. We are given good brief accounts of the Carthusians, the Cistercians, the Good Men of Grammont, and the Premonstratensians; but they are accounts that neither add greatly to our knowledge nor display unusual insight and understanding. Of the chapters on the Cathari and the Humiliati much the same can be said. Arnold of Brescia plays his part on a stage exceptionally well equipped with scenery and background; but his rôle is the familiar one, and the stage furnishings are not novel, even though they may never before have been assembled in one place. In brief, the study is a creditable piece of work, well and honestly done, but in no wise remarkable.

The work suffers, in the judgment of the present writer, from two fundamental weaknesses. The first is the author's proneness to consider as "apostolic" or "evangelical" sundry practices and usages contrary to the customs of the medieval Church, without adequate evidence to show that they are in conformity with the customs of the primitive Church. To quote one instance only: she says (p. 222) of some heretics related to the Cathari, "They call all marriage, save that contracted between virgins, fornication—a doctrine derived from the words of Christ with which he answered the Pharisees, 'Whom God hath joined let no man put asunder'". As a bit of New Testament exegesis that is quite interesting, but it hardly increases one's confidence in the author's judg-



ment anent things "apostolic" and "evangelical". The second weakness is not unrelated to the first: because St. Francis gladly embraced the Lady Poverty in an age much devoted to splendor and the pursuit of riches, therefore all ascetics who protested, before him, against wealth and luxury and corruption are to be regarded as his forerunners. Only in a very restricted sense can that be regarded as true; some of the folk whom Miss Davison describes have no spiritual kinship with St. Francis, they are his "forerunners" only in that they lived in an earlier generation. Yet this point must not be overstressed; the Poor Man of Assisi still has a fascination for most of us, and perhaps it is to that fascination that the title of this book is due and the consequent but not entirely successful endeavor of the author to write a book that justifies the title.

A. H. SWEET.

*Five Centuries of Religion.* By G. G. COULTON, M.A., Camb., Hon. D.Litt., Durham, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Honorary Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and University Lecturer in English. Volume II., *The Friars and the Dead Weight of Tradition, 1200-1400 A. D.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1927. Pp. xxx, 703. 31 s. 6 d.)

THIS book opens like a tournament. A bewildering clarion from Walter Map; a proclamation; and Mr. Coulton charges headlong at his critics. Critics and reviewers are his peculiar *bêtes-noirs*. He unhorses them in the preface; enfilades them in the text; saps and ambushes them in foot-notes; and places a reminiscent *Hic Iacent* in the first of his forty (!) appendixes.

Mr. Coulton's idea is, confessedly, to weigh monasticism "in the critical balance" (p. xi); that is, I take it, to put all his weights into one pan; to show to what extent the *trinoda necessitas* of poverty, chastity, and obedience was cheerfully disregarded. He does not plan to show the religious building in stone, but "stewing in lechery" (to borrow a sour note from his trumpeter); not lecturing in the schools or following the *vita contemplativa* in the quiet cell, but rather insisting upon the "heriot"; maintaining for sixteen years an heroic defense of a feather-bed against the complaints of the visitor (p. 201); and, in general, demonstrating his (or her) activity by the generous production of *testes super terram*. We are told that violation of the rules was not only frequent, but condoned by the general public with all the nonchalance of prohibition America (p. 337); that, as a whole, monks were too rich and too unspiritual (p. 425); and that strict claustration of nuns was more often admired than respected (p. 426). Discipline was helpless in face of the decay; a *lex talionis* closed the mouth of the accuser (p. 277); and the visitor, when he did not find the door shut against him (p. 295), often looked not beyond the account rolls (pp. 230-231). Chapter headings, such as "The Abbot as Baron", "The Monk as Squire", "Contemporary

Complaints", "Monastic Capitalism", indicate the unhealthiness of the institution, and the intent of the author. In short, it is a supreme story of failure, told in the tropologic style; four hundred and twenty-six pages of text, and two hundred and forty-two of appendixes, to demonstrate—*inter alia*—seven and one-half to twenty-one per cent. of peccancy among the monks (p. 290), and considerably more than was wholesome among nuns.

Mr. Coulton is not unaware that there is much to be said in support of the religious orders; he will readily admit that "at certain times and in certain places they may perhaps have been the greatest of all civilizing forces". But, if he does not expand this statement, or repeat it at every turn, "the reason is that it is taught as a commonplace even in school histories. At this stage, the historian's main business is to indicate the limitations within which this general statement is strictly true . . ." (p. xi).

Mr. Coulton has conducted his business very successfully. His extracts from visitorial records, his "Contemporary Complaints", and his "Catena of [contemporary] Generalizations" provide an antidote against a too complacent view of the orders, or of their discouraged apologists, who, betimes, seem to repeat the lament of Dame Elizabeth Penny: "An I had been happy, I might have caused this thing to have been unknown and hidden" (p. 225); and destroy forever Cardinal Gasquet's quieting theory that "the evil repute of monks and friars dates from [the later seventeenth century]" (p. 419). The volume is a most useful one and can not fail to fascinate. Source-materials with which the general reader or student is not normally familiar are cited in abundance, and generous translations are to be found in the appendixes, interspersed with Clarendon type. It carries on at great length what Grupp has stated in chapters XCIV., CIIL., CXXV., CXLIV. of his *Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters* (which I miss in the bibliography along with Bühler's *Klosterleben im Deutschen Mittelalter*), and must, I think, form an essential starting-point for any subsequent tallage or appreciation of monasticism.

There is a delightful chapter (chapter XIV.: "A Great Archbishop") upon Odo Rigaldi of Rouen, "a man of real chivalry, not only by birth, but by character" (p. 215), which should inspire a new biography. Chapters XX. and XXI. give a very full account of the obstacles in the way of discipline, while XVII., XVIII., and XIX. form a careful study of "Evidential Values". The two chapters (chapters XXIV., XXV.) devoted to the "Evesham Case" are interesting, but out of proportion and one would have preferred this space for an amplification of chapter X. ("Precursors of St. Francis"), which is, perhaps, the weakest in the book. Mr. Coulton's treatment of Joachim of Fiore (Flore), if sympathetic, is hasty, and his uncertainties (pp. 218, 220) might be resolved by a re-reading of Book V. of Joachim's *Concordia Novi et Veteris Testamenti*.

There is one flash of optimism. Mr. Coulton entertains the hope based on the sale of 100,000 copies of translations of five of the most important original Franciscan sources by a "single English publisher", and on H. G. Wells's *Labour after the War*, that "the mere survival of the original mustard-seed of Franciscanism through seven centuries, even if no grain of it had ever germinated in the interval, might conceivably some day become a decisive factor in human civilization" (p. 135).

SYDNEY M. BROWN.

*Louis XI.* Par PIERRE CHAMPION. Deux tomes. (Paris: Champion. 1927. Pp. 236, 408. 135 frs.)

THE difficulties of writing biography, always great because the concentration of attention upon personality necessarily distracts from consideration of the period, must be much increased by the wide variations between our time and the fifteenth century. Presumably if anyone could succeed in such an undertaking it would be a scholar who has devoted years to the study of fifteenth-century France. Yet it must be confessed that M. Champion's study of Louis XI., while often stimulating, is somewhat unconvincing.

The author disclaims any intention of presenting an apology, and he often uses unflattering terms, but the general impression which he leaves is one of championship. It hardly seems that the so-called romantic presentation of Louis's personality, to be found in Scott and Hugo, merits the scholarly attack which it has recently received. It has not obscured Louis's achievements as ruler of France. As M. Champion remarks, Commynes's estimate of the king has the approval of history. The present work serves to reaffirm that estimate, while it also attempts to make Louis a personally more attractive figure by emphasizing his abilities and by giving the impression that the characteristics emphasized by his enemies were mere idiosyncrasies. "Mais Louis XI. est un homme vraiment compliqué; il s'est montré également cynique, et il a eu des mots affreux. Ce n'est pas une raison pour oublier la valeur de principes permanents et directeurs qui ont été chez lui, comme chez la plupart des rois de France, fondés sur la moralité et l'intérêt public."

Often there are telling characterizations of the king. He is never presented as a political genius. Rather he is pictured as an able, royalist lawyer with ideas of order, combined with a land-greedy, hard-bargaining peasant. He is "a strange figure, who does not command sympathy but admiration, like Richelieu". This is a striking comparison even though one may regard Richelieu as the greater statesman. It is hard to see the patriot in Louis because of the identity between his own power and national unity. It is his insatiable passion for power rather than devotion to the nation apart from himself, which, when coupled with his intelligence and efficiency, makes his rule so effective. That his pitiless destruction of traitors was devoid of revenge is hard to believe. It is also hard to agree with the assertion that his policy was not Machiavellian.

Indeed the author's comparison of Louis with his Italian contemporaries would seem to include Machiavellianism by implication.

But it is notable that the king's diplomacy is the phase of his reign least satisfactorily presented. At best much of it is very briefly summarized. Louis's part in Italian politics would scarcely be guessed. His relations with England, however, receive considerable attention, but Miss Scofield's *Life and Reign of Edward IV.* with its detailed account of Anglo-French negotiations is ignored. Reference to Richard of Gloucester as Edward's nephew will occasion surprise, while the comment on the expedition of 1475, "c'est une opération commerciale, la razzia; et c'est aussi une affaire de vins et de blé pour remplir et mettre en joie les ventres anglais", hardly seems satisfactory. This interpretation of the reign is essentially nationalistic, devoted largely to the king's part in striving for territorial unity, and his interest in efficient administration. These indeed may well be regarded as the most important phases of his career.

Scholars will find here an illuminating discussion of the printed sources, a lengthy but uncritical bibliography, a guide to the manuscript material in Paris, and useful information from the municipal archives at Dijon and Tours.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

*The Monumenta Germaniae Historica: its Inheritance in Source-Valuation and Criticism.* By WILLIAM THOMAS MILLER GAMBLE. (Washington: Catholic University of America. 1927. Pp. vi, 202. \$1.50.)

THIS is a suggestive and weighty book for the compass of its pages, and a credit to the author and the university from which it emanates. Unfortunately the title somewhat obscures its intention, which is actually "to trace the development of the critical spirit and historical method through the centuries from the fifth to the nineteenth", using the tradition of German historical scholarship as a medium of illustration. To this end German historiography is traced down through the Middle Ages from Jordanes until nearly the present time, though with frequent excursions into French and Italian historiography. Naturally there is a *tendenz* in this interpretation. But what history, above bare narration, replete with thought is not tendentious? In this case the thesis of the author is that Christian dogma, belief in Providence and divine control of human events, the institutions of a revealed and authoritative religion, furnished medieval historians with certain criteria "which enabled them to give a definite valuation to their sources, and which aided them in forming certain judgments upon the whole course of human events". The ideas of law and progress were innate in the Church's teaching and have been responsible for what genetic thought is found in all medieval historical writing; "a certain set of social and cultural theories . . . under certain historical conditions [were] inferred" from the Church's doctrine and polity, and

"became the basis and the condition of all medieval secular growth" (cf. pp. 18, 26-27, 30-32, 52). Faith, not skepticism, reveals "the grounds and limitations of our knowledge" (p. 26). The author quotes Kant as saying that philosophy properly begins with epistemology, and adds that destructive criticism and skepticism have gone so far with modern historical criticism that it may yet "be forced to develop an epistemology for itself" (p. 27).

In the elucidation of this thesis Mr. Gamble has some good words anent historical interpretation (pp. 39-42), although not infrequently he goes too far in crediting the Church with great and salutary influence upon social development. I do not think it is true that "the Church, by competing in the field of feudal allegiance with the barons, kept the road of freedom open for serf and villein", or that in Germany civic ideals were fostered in the cities "by the prince-bishops". Most former episcopal cities in Germany acquired their freedom in spite of the bishops. The Church sometimes gave with one hand and took away with the other. Again, to accuse Philip IV. of France of an abusive "idea of concentration of power" does not acquit Boniface VIII. of himself having endeavored to make the papal power a thing independent of justice. It is a hardy historian who does not regard the bull *Unam Sanctam* as an excess of the *plenitudo potestatis*. Too much is sometimes asserted in order to prove a point, as when it is claimed that the Jewish-Arabic-Syriac glosses which disguised Aristotle were "torn away by the textual work of St. Thomas Aquinas" (p. 52).

Nevertheless, in spite of the apologetic nature of some of Mr. Gamble's reasoning, one may approve, even applaud, much of his conclusion. His demonstration that many medieval historians possessed both a critical faculty and a constructive method is excellent. His treatment of Protestant historiography during the Reformation is temperate, although I do not think he does justice to Hutten's influence upon genuine historical research and he underrates that of Melancthon. He is well within the truth when he says that with Protestant scholars of the Reformation "the document had become a missile" (p. 67). A reading of Mark Pattison's *Isaac Casaubon*, however, ought to have put the author upon his guard against the belief that Baronius was a competent historical scholar. The cardinal was very far from being "habituated to self-criticism" (p. 84). Fueter refutes him, not he Fueter, when he writes that Baronius "at least held the ground of all the critical advance that had been solidly made up to that time" (p. 85.). Baronius's *Annales* must be used with as much precaution as the *Centuries of Magdeburg*. Mr. Gamble is excellent in his account of the great Catholic scholars of the Age of Erudition like Mabillon, Muratori, etc., but one wishes he had not been so brief. The account of Hermann Conring would have benefited from careful reading of Bernheim's *Lehrbuch*. The evolutionary type of thought of eighteenth-century historical interpretation is shortly but cogently shown. More might have been written of the influence of Leibnitz, Lessing, and Herder.

In this wise and by these stages the author arrives at last to the proximate antecedents of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, and we have to thank him for a careful account of the inception and establishment of this great enterprise. It is to be regretted that Mr. Gamble has failed to give an account of Henry the Lion's intense interest in history, or of Pertz's discovery of the lost manuscript of Richer and his futile endeavor to find that of Nithard. These episodes would have been interesting and illuminating relations.

In a work of such long perspective it is hypercritical, perhaps, to say that Mr. Gamble has relied too much upon secondary authors for information, and manifests slight direct knowledge of the historical writers whom he discusses. One wonders if he has first-hand knowledge of Widukind, Adam of Bremen, Thietmar of Merseburg, Ekkehard of Aura, etc. In the main he seems to have relied upon Ellinger and Lasch, supplemented by Wattenbach and Bernheim, for all that which precedes the actual history of the founding of the *Monumenta*. The portion dealing with the Middle Ages would have profitted by Hofmeister's magnificent critique of Otto of Freising, M. Schulz's *Die Lehre von der Historischen Methode bei den Geschichtschreibern des Mittelalters*, R. Jahncke's *Guilelmus Neubrigensis, ein Pragmatischer Geschichtschreiber des Zwölften Jahrhunderts*, and F. Munnich's *Die Individualität der Mittelalterlichen Geschichtschreiber bis zum Ende des II. Jahrhunderts*. There are other important omissions from the bibliography. Neither Ebert's nor Manitius's great work on medieval Latin literature seems to have been consulted, nor Giry's *Traité de Diplomatique*, nor Rashdall's *Rise of the Universities*, nor Pattison's *Casaubon*, nor Dom Quentin's monograph on Mansi, nor Gigas's *Briefe Samuel Pufendorfs an Christian Thomasius*, nor Joachimsen's *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus*, nor his earlier work, *Die Humanistische Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland*, from all of which much that is suggestive might have been derived. The account of German publishers' interest in the publication of the most important historical sources before the *Monumenta* is incomplete. One may indulge a smile at the description of Wattenbach's *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen* as "sketches of medieval German sources".

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

*Politics and Religion in Sixteenth-Century France: a Study of the Career of Henry of Montmorency-Damville, Uncrowned King of the South.* By FRANKLIN CHARLES PALM, Ph.D., University of California. (Boston and New York: Ginn and Company. 1927. Pp. xii, 209. \$2.00.)

NEARLY twenty years ago, in his *Wars of Religion in France* Professor James Westfall Thompson dropped a fertile hint to the effect that a life of Damville was "a work sorely needed" and would prove "a rich subject for an historical student". The importance of Damville is certi-



fied by the reports of his contemporaries and has been frequently acknowledged by subsequent writers. In the literature of his period his name is conspicuous. But until now no one has essayed to write his life. That is all the more strange in view of the abundance of materials. It has remained for Professor Palm to exploit this hitherto unworked vein and produce the first systematic and comprehensive account of Damville's career, a work based on an exhaustive study of the documents, and admirable alike for its scholarly and its literary qualities, accurate, fair, and just.

The subject is worthy of the effort. While Damville was not an heroic figure, his career was no ordinary one. Indeed, the rôle he played in the troubled drama of his time was unique. Others attempted it, but no one with equal boldness and success. Shrewd, daring, unscrupulous, forecasting and calculating with astonishing precision, trimming and tacking with every shift of wind and tide, he held on his course, despite opposition and intrigue, and attained to an all but regal power, which he exercised independently of, at times in defiance of, the king himself. He brooked no interference in his province and negotiated with foreign powers as an equal. "Uncrowned King of the Midi" is hardly an exaggeration.

But he was more than the last of the great feudal lords. In the judgment of the author his greatest significance lies not in his personal power, but rather in his identification with certain principles that were destined to emerge triumphant from the welter of those turbulent times, and constitute the foundation of a restored and reinvigorated France, the principles of toleration, legitimism, and national unity. Viewed in this light he becomes one of the makers of the absolute monarchy of the seventeenth century. He even projects himself still further into history. "His work is not dead . . . it is still a living force" (p. viii), and its reflection is seen "in the separation of Church and State and in the development of modern nationalism" (p. 265). It may be; yet it seems a rather far cry from the twentieth-century state to the sixteenth-century baron. But we shall not higggle over the precise limits of his influence. When, however, the author finds his "outstanding importance . . . in his intense love of country expressed in his willingness to make every sacrifice for it" (pp. 265-266), something within demurs. "Intense love of country", from the man who was ready upon occasion to traffic with Spain and even to admit the Turk! Set it down to the exigencies of the situation, if one will; it will hardly pass for patriotism. With Damville not love of country, but love of power, seems rather to have been the main-spring of action. That he served a good cause was an accident of politics. As the author himself elsewhere says, "he was wise enough to see that in order to promote his own interests he must co-operate with other leaders in defense of the state. For that reason he became a *Politique*, advocating religious toleration and bitterly opposing foreign influence in France" (p. 264).



But whatever his motives, there is no gainsaying his importance. And in giving us this study of his career Professor Palm has made an exceedingly valuable contribution, not only to our knowledge of the man, but to a fuller and truer understanding of one of the most momentous periods in the history of France.

THEODORE COLLIER.

*The House of Lords in the Eighteenth Century.* By A. S. TURBERVILLE, M.A., B.Litt., Reader in History in the University of Leeds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927. Pp. vi, 556. 21s.)

To some, at least, among those unacquainted with Mr. Turberville's *The House of Lords in the Reign of William III.*, published in 1913, the title of the present work might seem a bit misleading. Such criticism he seeks to disarm by announcing in the preface that: "while constitutional questions must of necessity bulk largely in any work dealing with the history of Parliament, my object has been not to write a purely constitutional treatise, but, taking Sir Charles Firth's book, *The House of Lords during the Civil War*, as my model, to narrate the political history of the Chamber, to sketch the characters and influence of its outstanding members, and to estimate the importance of the part played by the peerage in the life of the nation. . . . To tell the story of the heyday of the Whig oligarchy, and of its decline in the early years of George III., as it is reflected in the proceedings of the Chamber to which the principal members of the oligarchy belonged, is the primary aim of the following pages." Consequently, thirteen of the eighteen chapters are chiefly occupied with political questions treated chronologically as they come up for consideration in the Upper House. Of the remaining five, the introductory chapter is devoted to Procedure, Rights, and Privileges, which were accorded more detailed treatment in the earlier volume. Chapters XV. to XVIII. are concerned respectively with the Recruitment of the House, Social Influence of the Peerage, the Peers and the Constituencies, and Conclusion.

As the author points out: "The History of the House of Lords during the eighty years discussed in this volume divides into three unequal periods." The first, covered by the reign of Queen Anne, has much in common with the preceding reign of William III., when there was as a rule "a large and strident majority for one party or the other in the Lower House, while in the Upper House the parties are evenly balanced". In the second period, coinciding with the first two Georges, both Houses are strongholds of Whiggism, and the conflicts are not of parties but of factions. This Whig domination George III., during the third period, 1760-1783, undertook to break, and for a time succeeded. The date 1783 is selected as a stopping place, because the "Younger Pitt by his lavish creation of peerages" opens "a new era in the History of the Upper House".

While, even in his chapters of political narrative, Mr. Turberville intersperses his account with suggestive and informing reflections, as well as characterizations of the chief actors—vivified by quotations from Hervey and others—he has perforce to retell a story in the main familiar, even introducing—once or twice with apologies—various time-honored anecdotes. Although the Newcastle papers and a few other manuscript sources have been drawn on to a slight extent, the study is based largely on printed sources and the works of previous writers to whom ample acknowledgments are made. All that bears on the influence exerted by the peers, both inside and outside their chamber, has been carefully considered and presented. In general the author takes a broad and open-minded view of things, though, in the opinion of the reviewer, he does not do full justice to the colonial attitude toward the Quebec Act. In estimating what can be said for and against the old system he takes occasion to note that we are not free even to-day from subtler forms of corruption and that tyranny of property is not the only kind to be apprehended.

Actual errors seem to be remarkably few, although it is not correct to say that the right of a lord to be tried by his peers extended to misdemeanors (p. 29); moreover, in relating the mighty achievements in the consumption of port, the uninitiated reader should be informed that the wine of that day was weaker and the bottles smaller than at present. Occasional phrases might be questioned, such as "the Lords had the best of the argument" (p. 50), and Lord Thurlow was "a poor lawyer" (p. 381), which makes one query momentarily whether he was indigent or lacking in legal capacity. The appendixes, which include a list of the peerage creations 1702–1783, a critical discussion of reports of debates in the House of Lords, and a bibliography, are all useful. However, in the latter, W. L. Mathieson's *Scotland and the Union* and the works of Roylance Kent and Maurice Wood on the Tory party might possibly have been included.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

*The Correspondence of King George the Third from 1760 to December, 1783.* Arranged and edited by the Honorable Sir JOHN FORTESCUE, LL.D., D.Litt. Volumes I. and II., 1760–1773. (London: Macmillan. 1927. Pp. xviii, 530; xvi, 532. 25 s. each.)

THESE volumes constitute the first two of a six-volume set. According to their editor, they are "Printed from the Original Papers preserved in the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle", to which place they were restored in 1912, after having been lost for nearly a century. The obligation of students of the eighteenth century to Sir John Fortescue can hardly be exaggerated. Apparently every scrap of paper has been printed. After a crisis such as the Cabinet upset of 1765, or the Stamp Act controversy, George III. would evidently sit down and try to write

up what had happened. Dissatisfied with the draft, he would write another and then another—in which it would be difficult to say that the last was clearer than the first. Sir John prints them all, which, to the really minute investigator, is far more satisfactory than printing one draft and then indicating the variations. Of course one gets a view of Cabinet meetings, with minutes, the strike of the Spitalfield weavers, the revolts of Irish whiteboys, the negotiations with Chatham, the Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts, the constant friction with France, Corsica and General Paoli, the frequent changes of and in the ministry, Wilkes and the City of London, the domestic difficulties of the king and his family—all run together as the chronological sequence of the letters must dictate.

In reading through the documents, one can not but be struck with what a limited understanding of all the situations was possessed by the king and his correspondents. When a domestic revolt occurred (and George III. had his share of them) there was no question of: "What is the grievance?"; only a question of: "How can it be suppressed?". Whig and Tory alike had no conception of what was really behind a mob of strikers. Yet it would be very wrong to draw from this the conclusion that George III. was heartless—a note on his personal interest in commuting the sentence of a poor criminal from hanging to transportation is an interesting sidelight on the king. America was a side-issue throughout the years represented in these volumes, and it would not be going too far to say that George III. and his friends knew as little of the real grievances of the colonists as they did of the strikers in England.

As source-material the private advices to the king of the debates in the houses of Parliament, the votes, the speeches, must ever be an interesting corrective of Hansard. One could wish that librarians would be willing to buy an extra set of this work and sandwich it in after the appropriate volume of Hansard—but possibly that is too much to ask of efficiency.

The cabinet changes in these volumes do not reflect the hostility of the king toward Chatham which afterward appeared. On the contrary, one is tempted to think that George III. was extraordinarily considerate of Chatham, and that Chatham, in view of the state of his health, had no right to hold up the course of business as often as he did when he knew that his physical condition prevented his attention to his work. In the affairs of the ever-absentee governor of Virginia, and of Shelburne, who was not always amenable to party discipline, one can not but think that George III. was quite right and Chatham quite wrong. A colony like Virginia could not at this critical time be governed by a man who sat in London and drew his pay, even if his name did happen to be Jeffery Amherst.

On the other hand the tragedy of the king's own health may be seen in the many letters on the Regency Bill. It is only by such a full publication of such a quantity of documents that these finer, and often more significant points can be given their proportional importance.

The editorial work is well done from the point of view of clearness. Certain material already printed in Donne's *Correspondence of George III. and Lord North*, *Chatham Correspondence*, and *Grenville Papers*, is reprinted—but this is clearly indicated, and the vast bulk of the documents have never before been printed.

One could wish that even though the editor found the differentiation of the various Grenvilles and Townshends a difficult matter, he had indicated his own guess as to which "Mr. Townshend" or "Mr. Grenville" wrote various letters designated. On the other hand, anyone who has ever done editorial work of this sort must appreciate the immensity of the task undertaken by Sir John Fortescue, and must be grateful for the documents which have been so long inaccessible.

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

*Der Einfluss der Französischen Revolution auf das Deutsche Geistesleben.* Von ALFRED STERN. (Stuttgart and Berlin: Cotta. 1928. Pp. 256. Unbound, RM. 8.50; bound RM. 11.50.)

THE veteran Zurich historian, best known by the ten volumes of his *European History from 1815 to 1871*, has assembled in this book a large amount of information upon the various reactions which the French Revolution produced upon leading German men of letters at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, including a number of prominent Swiss authors.

He gives telling instances of the enthusiasm evoked throughout greater Germany by the hopeful idealistic beginnings of 1789, singling out particularly such men as Wieland, Klopstock, the Stolbergs, Pestalozzi, Voss, Bürger, Hölderlin. He dwells in detail upon the experiences of certain German ideologists, notably Campe, Von Halem, Konrad Oelsner, Joseph Görres, Georg Forster, whom an extreme cosmopolitan fervor induced to seek personal contact with the revolutionary leaders in Paris and, in the case of the last two, even misled into active participation in the Jacobin propaganda against Germany. On the other hand, he devotes a particularly instructive chapter to the theoretical opponents of the Revolution. In the main, these hostile criticisms are classified under three different heads: historical reasonings, popular propaganda of the nationalistic sort, and emotional outbursts of men who from former admirers were turned by the September outrages into violent detractors. Under the first head are considered historical writers of the Göttingen school, such as Girtanner, Spittler, Heyne, Brandes, Rehberg, the last two largely influenced by Edmund Burke's famous *Considerations*. To these is added an analysis of Friedrich Gentz's defamatory pamphlets, likewise based upon Burke. Under the second head are emphasized the satirical *Revolutions-Almanach* edited by the Gotha librarian Reichard and the *Wiener Zeitschrift* of the Austrian journalist Hoffmann, designed to "oppose a bulwark to the wild frenzy of cosmopolitan and philanthropic hordes". Under the third, the chief interest centres, besides Klopstock's and

Lavater's grievous disappointment, in Friedrich Stolberg's ecstatic recantations, culminating in the fanatical ode hurled against the "Western Huns".

The second half of the book is given over to a consideration of the greatest names of German Classicism and Romanticism. Wieland is shown to have followed the whole course of the Revolution from the *États Généraux* to the eighteenth of Brumaire with running commentaries of remarkable objectivity and insight. Herder, although hampered in the expression of his political views by his intimate relation to the Weimar court, appears as essentially a sympathizer with the republic. The effect of Goethe's temperamental abhorrence of mob rule and of violent upheaval upon his attitude toward the events beyond the Rhine is traced from the *Grosskophtha* to the *Natürliche Tochter*. Schiller's attitude is characterized as one of political resignation, coupled with the belief that no better service could be rendered to the cause of true freedom than by the cultivation of man's highest spiritual qualities. In striking contrast with this political aloofness of the two greatest German poets, Kant and Fichte appear as open and resolute supporters of the republican ideals proclaimed by the Revolution; although Kant's advanced age and natural conservatism gave to his utterances a reserve and sobriety very different from Fichte's fiery eloquence. As for Hegel, the discussion about his position is summed up in a quotation from his Berlin lectures of 1830, reviewing the revolutionary period in retrospect: "Never since the sun first rose on the firmament had such a thing occurred as that man should stand upon his head, that is, upon reason, and try to reconstruct the world on that base. It was a magnificent awakening. A noble elevation of mind, an enthusiasm of the spirit pervaded the age, as though a reconciliation between the divine and the human had at last been brought about."

The chief defect of the book—a certain miscellaneousness and lack of propelling force—is perhaps inherent in the theme itself.

KUNO FRANCKE.

*The Anti-Slavery Movement in England: a Study in English Humanitarianism.* By FRANK J. KLINGBERG, Ph.D., Professor of History, Southern Branch, University of California. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1926. Pp. xii, 390. \$4.00.)

THIS is a conventional study of a rather well-worn theme: conventional in that the author has constructed a well-documented narrative, yet without carrying the discussion of the subject outside the orthodox and accepted limits of the writers of a previous generation.

Professor Klingberg found the earlier part of his study disposed of already by Coupland's scholarly biography of William Wilberforce. Judiciously, therefore, he contracts his story of the suppression of the slave trade to within a relatively narrow compass, allowing all the broader

scope for the later abolition of slavery itself. For this reason his work becomes a sequel to Professor Coupland's book; and, be it said as well, an able sequel. Of the two Professor Klingberg's was undoubtedly the harder task. The simpler scope of a biography, adequate for the period of the trade, had to be followed by a deeper fathoming of colonial passions, a closer analysis of vested commercial interests, a more careful gauging of intensity and contrariety within public opinion and within parliamentary opinion, a shrewder estimate even of high-minded fanaticism, before emancipation could be seen in all its complexity. This exacting obligation Professor Klingberg has tried to meet; and, although his work, it must be confessed, seems to be an exercise in research rather than the outcome of authoritative perceptions, nevertheless it is a work which a student of the early nineteenth century will appreciate.

The opening chapters do, unfortunately, create a prejudice against the subsequent portions of the book, a prejudice which is removed as soon as the introduction is passed. By carrying the beginning of his book too far back in point of time, Professor Klingberg has placed himself at a disadvantage; he seems to have had to rely uncritically upon material at second hand. Thus (p. 29) on the apparently unexceptionable authority of a learned journal Pinkerton is cited as an editor whose collection of voyages led the public, in the "middle years" of the eighteenth century, to take the benign interest in backward and savage peoples which was one of the predisposing influences towards the suppression of the trade. Pinkerton, as a matter of fact, did not publish his collection of voyages till after the trade was outlawed. Nor are the African origin and background of the trade treated with a sure touch. Who, for instance, could use Mungo Park at first hand without a tribute to the description of the slave coffle Park perforce had to join to make his way from the interior to the coast? Touching upon English politics and English administrative procedure, in the later portion of the book, Professor Klingberg falls into expressions not sanctioned by usage. Thus (p. 217) "His Majesty's suggestions", in lieu of the suggestions of His Majesty's government; or, the suggestions of His Majesty's ministers, is a misleading abbreviation. Unless, indeed, the expression is used in the sense in which it is frequently employed by negroes in the British West Indies, in which case it were better quoted. A reference to Canning (p. 197) as "Secretary Canning" does jar upon one's sensitive political ear; the language of Washington makes discord in Westminster. Professor Klingberg hints at the influence of English anti-slavery feeling during the American Civil War; he might have included the case of the proposed British sovereignty of Texas; also the fact that the cry of no-slavery was used, and used successfully, for two years, to dissuade the London public from subscribing to the funds for financing the French excavation of the Suez Canal—a fitting anti-climax to the frenzy of the 'thirties.

It is an uncritical acceptance of eighteenth-century humanitarianism and evangelicalism as the explanation of the success of the anti-slavery



movement that makes this work seem more conventional than original. As long as the Clapham Sect remains the historian of its own activities the movement can be made to appear the achievement of self-approving philanthropists. But it is becoming more and more difficult to view evangelicalism as belonging to the category of causes; and whilst humanitarianism may have been something more than the jargon of a fashionable cosmopolitan affectation, it was often not far removed from that description. The two together, fortified with the rivalry of East Indian and West Indian interests, and the newer view that slave labor was not cheap labor, seem inadequate to account for emancipation. We have yet to trace the source of the driving force that carried the movement through, and to enquire whether there was not perhaps in the arguing and emotional power of the industrial operatives of the day a weight of independent and self-sustaining opinion about emancipation that must be reckoned with. Did the slaves owe their freedom to a few middle-class pietists, or is the indebtedness more distributive? In other words Professor Klingberg has chronicled faithfully the traditional version of the anti-slavery movement, but without questioning whether or not the story explains its own conclusion. The Clapham legend may or may not be sufficient; the day is passing when it can be taken with unrelieved seriousness.

C. E. FRYER.

*Lord Brougham and the Whig Party.* By ARTHUR ASPINALL, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History in the University of Rangoon. [Publications of the University of Manchester, no. CLXXIX.] (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1927. Pp. xx, 322. 18 s.)

HENRY BROUGHAM, the brilliant but erratic Lord Chancellor of England, has ever been a mystery-man to the historian. From his first appearance in the House of Commons in 1810 to his death in 1863 this strange Scot was continuously before the public eye. The eccentricities of his genius, the vividness of his speech, the enthusiasms of his versatile intellect fascinated his contemporaries. But of his intrinsic worth, his influence and character, and above all of his place in England's history, we have hitherto been largely ignorant.

Professor Aspinall's book makes us much less so. Its scope is limited: it is not a biography of Brougham; it does not pretend to be. Of Lord Brougham's work in connection with law reform there is but slight mention; of his personality, friends, and private life there is no full account. But his political career, on the other hand, is here for the first time analyzed with care and described with vigor—no easy task in view of his lordship's many-sided activities and peculiarly unorthodox behavior.

Brougham was never a good party man. By temper, birth, and accident he belonged to the Whigs: but his lukewarmness in regard to parliamentary reform and his unwillingness to work in harness stood



squarely in the way of his political ambitions. He was a general without an army; neither in the House of Commons nor in the House of Lords did he have a large following. Indeed, his promotion to the latter house was due more to the desire to get rid of an uncomfortable colleague than to recognition of his legal talents. And it must be remembered that he only held the great seal for four years.

George IV. hated Brougham. His attacks on his Majesty when regent had been vicious, his espousal of Queen Caroline's cause ultra-passionate and also to good effect. On the other hand, many of the Radicals distrusted Brougham, as did the more moderate Whigs. To the former his policy seemed wavering and uncertain; to the latter it was generally too extreme. Furthermore, Brougham's very anxiety to lead brought him under suspicion. His plotting and scheming for political preferment was too noticeable, his lack of reticence too obvious.

Brougham's principal accomplishments lay in the legal field. His success on circuit was extraordinary. No man could appeal with more certainty to a jury. His defense of the two Hunts against the charge of sedition won much deserved praise. In the law courts rather than in Parliament his reputation was made.

Aside from his legal career Brougham's first claim to historical recognition may be found in his agitation against the slave trade and on behalf of education. As a young man he wrote trenchantly against the former and his pamphlet in regard to it was freely used in the Commons before Brougham was elected a member. His first brilliant speech in Parliament was on the same subject; and in 1811 a bill introduced by him to make slave trading a felony was placed on the statute books. As an educational reformer Brougham was even more active. "He was a driving force in the movement for the establishment of infant schools in London"; he laid the foundations for what afterwards became London University; he organized the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, which distributed innumerable and useful tracts for six-pence; he first suggested training colleges for teachers; and to his credit be it noticed Brougham was denounced for engaging in "the dirty work of inflaming the minds of the lower orders".

In economic discussion Brougham's voice ever was a loud one. He spoke and wrote both for and against the corn laws, the income tax, and the navigation laws. Despite his radicalism his views in regard to factory legislation were quite conservative and his attitude toward the new poor law quite Malthusian. In general, it may be noted that his speeches and writings on economic matters bulk large in quantity; in quality they are in no way remarkable.

*Lord Brougham and the Whig Party* is admirably done. Within its three hundred and more pages is packed an enormous amount of valuable material, well classified and arranged. Notes, index, and bibliography are all full and complete. It is a pity that the type is so fine, particularly the type used for the source-extracts, fifty per cent. of the work. The

author, however, has written judiciously. Possibly he is a little too severe in his estimate of Brougham's character. On the other hand, it is at least dubious to link the repeal of the Orders in Council (due to Brougham) with the Reform Bill and the Anti-Corn Law League as the three great illustrations of the rise to power of the new industrialists (p. 25).

WALTER P. HALL.

*British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914.* Volume I., *The End of British Isolation*; volume II., *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Franco-British Entente*. Edited by G. P. GOOCH and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, with the assistance of LILLIAN M. PENSON. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1927. Pp. xxxii, 355; xxxii, 430. 10 s. 6 d. each.)

JUST as Germany began her documentary publications on the origins of the war with four-volume *Kautsky Documents* on the July crisis of 1914, and then followed it with the monumental *Grosse Politik* on the preceding period from 1871, so England has begun her diplomatic revelations by a volume on July, 1914 (vol. XI., reviewed in this journal, XXXII. 600), and has followed it with these two volumes on the period from 1898 to 1904. The editors decided it was not necessary to go back to 1871, but begin with the year 1898, when some of the British Cabinet, alarmed by the hostility of France and Russia, desired to substitute a policy of alliances for the traditional principle of "splendid isolation". The editors have wisely followed the German example of grouping the documents topically rather than in a strict chronological arrangement, but not the German practice of appending abundant foot-notes which, though very convenient and helpful to the historian, have been regarded as having a propagandist tendency.

Mr. Gooch and Mr. Temperley, it hardly needs to be said, have seen to it that the editorial work has been done admirably. They have been able to add to the ordinary diplomatic despatches some interesting "minutes" by Foreign Office secretaries and even by the Prince of Wales (Edward VII.). Those of the latter, however, are so few as to strengthen the impression gained from the documents as a whole, that Queen Victoria's genial son had a less direct influence on British foreign policy than popular imagination commonly attributes to him. In accordance with the Foreign Office practice observed in the case of volume XI. "documents containing information supplied or opinions expressed by certain Foreign Governments have been communicated to them for their agreement. The response has been generally satisfactory" (I. vii). We presume that this refers primarily to France, but not to Germany, which did not observe a like courtesy in publishing the *Grosse Politik*. This may account for some of the numerous asterisks indicating gaps or omissions in documents; as a rule, however, these gaps are due to the unimportance of the matter omitted; only in a few instances, say the editors,

are they due to a desire to consult the susceptibilities of individuals or governments.

By the opening of the year 1898 many things indicated that England ought to abandon "splendid isolation": the chronic hostility of France and Russia, the increasing friction with the Boers, the German seizure of Kiauchau, and the Russian economic grasp on Manchuria. So Lord Salisbury turned first to Russia, and on January 19 proposed an entente which should put an end to the long-standing friction between the Bear and the Lion. In view of the complications arising from the decay of the Chinese and Turkish empires, he proposed to harmonize British and Russian policies, not by a partition of territory, but by what he euphemistically called "a partition of the preponderance of political influence". But the Tsar and his shifty ministers did not receive the proposal in a way to inspire confidence, and so the British offer, here revealed in detail for the first time (I. 5-41), was allowed to drop.

Then Mr. Joseph Chamberlain turned to Germany. On March 29, 1898, while Lord Salisbury was absent in France for his health, Chamberlain proposed to the German ambassador an Anglo-German defensive alliance. He was ready to get the treaty publicly approved by Parliament, but this "would not prevent the inclusion in the treaty of one or more secret articles". This we know from the *Grosse Politik* (XIV. 193 ff.). But the editors of the *British Documents* say that they find no references to this Chamberlain offer of 1898. The only documents which they find relating to an Anglo-German alliance in that year are suggestions from the German side. At a shooting party in January, 1898, the Kaiser suggested to the British military attaché the desirability of some friendly arrangements; at a luncheon at Friedrichshof in August he repeated the suggestion to the British ambassador; but at a dinner in December he concurred with the ambassador that "there was certainly no necessity for a formal alliance", because if it became advisable for England and Germany to act in common the arrangements could be made in twenty-four hours (I. 69, 100-105). This extraordinary fact that the British archives contain no mention of this Chamberlain proposal makes it seem likely that it was his own personal venture rather than an official move on the part of the British Cabinet.

The utmost that could be secured between the two countries at this time was the Anglo-German Convention of August 30, 1898, for the contingent partition of the Portuguese colonies (I. 44-73). This, however, became a source of irritation and suspicion on Germany's part, because it did not produce the hoped-for results. Instead, Berlin soon observed closer relations between Lisbon and London after the visit of King Carlos to Windsor in the spring of 1899. And in fact, upon the outbreak of the Boer War, by the Anglo-Portuguese Secret Declaration of October 14, 1899 (often inaccurately called the "Windsor Treaty" and supposed to have been signed during the visit of King Carlos), Lord Salisbury renewed the old treaty of 1661. By this England promised to

defend and protect all the Portuguese colonies. In return, Portugal undertook not to permit munitions of war for the Boers to enter the Transvaal, and, curiously enough, not to issue any formal declaration of neutrality, inasmuch as that would prevent the supplying of coal to British warships at Delagoa Bay (I. 74-99).

After a report on the Von Diederichs-Dewey incident at Manila Bay by the English captain in command there (I. 105 ff.), and accounts of the Samoan settlement (I. 107-131), and the arrangements of the Nigerian boundary with France (I. 132-157), there follow many new and interesting documents on the Fashoda crisis, which were omitted from former official publications but which place the French in a less favorable light (I. 158-193). A few documents on the Hague Peace Conference (I. 215-232) indicate the general bewilderment and embarrassment with which the Tsar's well-intentioned but ill-digested manifesto was received and then rendered largely abortive. The chapter on the South African War (I. 233-277) reflects the general *Schadenfreude* with which the Continental nations saw the proud Mistress of the Seas engaged in a long, costly, and at first unsuccessful war; it also discusses the various rumors of possible intervention or mediation by France, Russia, or Germany.

The complications of the Boxer Revolt and of the Russian penetration of Manchuria led England and Germany to sign the Yang-tsze agreement of 1900 for preserving the territorial integrity of China and for keeping her ports open to the trade of all nations on equal terms. Like the Anglo-German Convention concerning the Portuguese colonies, this agreement concerning the Far East was intended to promote the common interests of England and Germany, and improve the friendly relations between them. But it ultimately led to irritation between them, owing to a difference of interpretation as to whether or not it applied to Manchuria; Germany, not wishing to antagonize Russia, maintained that it did not, in which case, said Lord Salisbury, "I am not very much in love with this agreement" (II. 1-31). Further Russian encroachments, endangering Korea, gradually brought about the famous Anglo-Japanese Alliance of January, 1902. The various drafts of this, which editors have interestingly placed in parallel columns, enable the student to trace the views held by the two governments and the processes which led to their eventual agreement (II. 32-59, 89-137).

In 1901, there were further negotiations between Lord Lansdowne and the German representatives in London in regard to an Anglo-German alliance (II. 60-88). According to the Germans the initiative came from the side of the English; according to these British documents it came from Germany. Perhaps the contradiction is to be explained by an excess of zeal on the part of the German negotiator, Baron Eckardstein, who may have outrun the instructions of his government. The failure of the negotiations is commonly attributed to Germany's insistence on having the Triple Alliance, as well as Germany herself, included in

the agreement, and to the blunders of Bülow and Holstein in thinking England needed Germany more than Germany needed England. This is in a large part true. But even if Germany had taken up the proposal more cordially, it is very doubtful whether the British Cabinet and Parliament would have ever assented to any such alliance. Lord Salisbury has left on record a strong memorandum against it (II. 68) and his views were shared by the future Edward VII. and probably by a majority of the Cabinet.

More than a third of the second volume is devoted to the Anglo-French Entente of 1904. The visit of King Edward to Paris in the spring of 1903, quickly followed by that of Loubet and Delcassé to London, had happily prepared the way. But much of the credit for the speed and success with which the numerous age-long sources of friction were smoothed away by compromise and concession belongs to M. Étienne, the French Colonial Minister, who suddenly broached the first comprehensive entente proposal in London on July 2, 1903, and to Lord Cromer, who was very anxious to get a free hand for the English in Egypt. To be sure, in some of the later negotiations, Delcassé took matters into his own hands behind the back of his Colonial Minister, justifying it perhaps to himself by the fact that he had formerly been Colonial Minister himself, and understood very thoroughly how far he could go in making concessions to England without arousing too dangerous condemnation from the colonial party in the Chamber of Deputies. In view of their later protestations to Germany, it may be noted that the French were very insistent on keeping secret the negotiations concerning the future of Morocco, and declared to Lord Lansdowne that "Germany was the Power which the French Government would like to exclude"; Germany had no concern with Morocco; if at any moment she should attempt to assume a conspicuous rôle, it should be intimated to her that she had no *locus standi* (II. 275).

On most questions these *British Documents* are much less complete and voluminous than the *Grosse Politik*. This is partly owing to the fact that the British have in the past published much of their diplomatic correspondence in *Parliamentary Papers*; but it is partly owing to the more rigid selection exercised by the English than by the German editors. The period from 1904 to 1914, however, it may be anticipated, will be treated in greater detail; the next eight volumes will be eagerly awaited by grateful students.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*King Edward VII., a Biography.* By Sir SIDNEY LEE. Volume II., *The Reign, January 22, 1901–May 6, 1910.* (London and New York: Macmillan. 1927. Pp. xii, 768. 84 s. for the set.)

THE first volume of this biography was reviewed in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1926 (XXX. 818). Unfortunately the author did not live to complete his task, and the present volume, while based in

large part on material collected and classified by Sir Sidney Lee, has been prepared for the press by Mr. S. F. Markham, who had acted as assistant to Sir Sidney since 1923.

It is with real regret that the impression created by volume I. is renewed in this notice. The book is too long, without distinction of style, and on the whole uninteresting. The decade of the reign of Edward VII. must always stand as a period of immense importance in British history, both from the point of view of domestic politics and in the conduct of foreign affairs. In neither field, however, was the king to exert any decisive influence. As a record of court ceremonials, as a journal of frequent trips abroad, and as evidence of the king's interest in projects of army reform the book is useful. It should at least correct the mistaken, yet popular, notion that the king was the director of British foreign policy. Rather was he the coadjutor, the assistant whose personal charm and reputation aided the conduct of foreign policy. The tale of the alleged interference of Edward VII. in British diplomacy is demolished in this book. This should be evident in the final chapter—the Epilogue—which is from the pen of Sir Sidney Lee. Here is an attempt at the real measure of the man. The final paragraph reads as follows: Literature and science he could not appreciate. His outlook was essentially practical. Not for him the “dreams and desires and sombre songs and sweet”; not for him the tumultuous mighty harmonies of the poetic imagination; but essentially for him was the blazing pageantry of court ceremonial, the activities and interests of an intensely patriotic sovereign. He had the temperament of a king, and as a king he was eminently successful. *Son métier était d'être Roi.*

Such judgment is sound. Yet the charm of the man, his ready enjoyment of wit and humor, we must take only on the declaration of the authors. There is no glimpse of it at first hand. In short, both volumes are lacking in the human and humane qualities of Edward VII. We would give a good deal for a record of a conversation between the king and Mr. H. Chandler, the superintendent of the wardrobe, to whom the king would “let himself go” in moments of irritation, or for the expression of the king's mind when, as was increasingly his habit, he would inveigh against the disadvantages of being a king. At times such moments of depression would lead him to meditate abdication; but his courage and his capacity for hard work would restore him to a more normal mood. His pleasure was really in the working of the machine of London society, which he had himself “invented”. With the death of Queen Victoria the “forty-year old tradition of gloom which attached to the court” was broken. Palaces were refurbished; ceremonies were now splendid; and there was added to the decorum of hospitality a touch of gaiety and amusement. Indeed, as Lady Paget says, the intimate personal friends of the king were often “a bevy of Jews and a ring of racing people”. He approved of the large expenditures which made Cowes Week a sight for millionaires and monarchs. With the Semites he loved



comfort and luxury, yet withal he was ever prompt and able in the discharge of his public duties.

These public duties included much more than the felicitous short speeches which the king was accustomed, even on high occasions, to deliver impromptu. He had the feeling for the *mot juste* which created such a vital impression. His duties often involved personal conferences with his ministers at times of high political tension. Here it is remarkable how keenly he felt his responsibilities as a constitutional monarch. At no time did he fail to accept their advice though it must often have gone contrary to his personal desires. Fortunately for him he died before some of the gravest questions in domestic and foreign affairs came up for final decision. That he would have done as his successor has done there is small doubt; that is one of the reasons why in Great Britain public opinion has such prompt and democratic effect. Further the king was frequently available for informal conferences; and his retentive memory, his insight into the motives of foreign statesmen, and his wide range of acquaintanceship made these conversations especially valuable.

There are curious omissions in this volume which is so full of detail. Thus, there is not a word on the co-operation of Great Britain and Germany against Venezuela in 1902-1903, but we know from the German records that the king took a lively interest in the settlement of the dispute. Likewise there is no mention of the story that on his passage through Paris in April, 1905, when he was returning from a cruise in the Mediterranean, the king gave French statesmen to understand that British support of France against Germany was certain. *Die Grosse Politik* is naturally full of this tale, yet no attempt is made either to deny or to confirm it in this volume. The constitutional position of the king gives importance to this deliberate omission. Certainly these matters are of more interest than the details of court ceremony with which the book abounds.

On the whole this volume is based on the same sort of materials as was the first. The royal archives at Windsor, the correspondence of the late king with many and various people, the archives of the Foreign Office, and personal conversations and letters have all been available to the authors. The translations of documents published by the government of Soviet Russia and the usual printed materials now available have supplemented these manuscript materials. In particular, *Die Grosse Politik* has supplied a considerable number of documents. As the examination of materials relating to British foreign policy during the Edwardian period proceeds the impression increases that British diplomacy was essentially opportunist in character. It lived almost from day to day in a way that seems to the historical student quite haphazard. There does not seem to have been any far-reaching plan or any definite purpose save the defense of the Empire as occasion might arise. This volume confirms this impression and should aid those who are concerned in research in modern diplomatic history.

A. L. P. DENNIS.



*The Dardanelles Expedition.* By W. D. PULESTON, Captain, U. S. Navy. Second edition. (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute. 1927. Pp. 172. \$2.80.)

THIS book by Captain Puleston is exactly what it purports to be, "a condensed study" and in its second and corrected edition is a model of its kind. Written nearly a decade after the close of the World War, the author had at his command about all the facts which are likely to transpire, as well as the friendly criticism and assistance of the chief actors in this interesting drama, which may be described as the story of a justifiable and most important military campaign directed in a tragically erroneous way. Captain Puleston does not mince words. After showing clearly the political and military reasons for an attack on the sea-approaches to the key to Asia, namely, Constantinople, the fall of which would have had most favorable results for the arms of the Allies, he describes tersely the differences of opinion and the resulting mismanagement which wrecked the campaign. He gives full credit for energy and boldness to the First Lord of the Admiralty, whom, however, he calls "brilliant, restless and pertinacious, with some small knowledge of military affairs", and paints an excellent portrait of Mr. Churchill's chief assistant, Lord Fisher, an officer of the highest attainments, but already seventy-four years of age; as well as of another "dugout", Admiral Sir Arthur ("Tug") Wilson, perhaps second in reputation to Lord Fisher. Both these experienced naval authorities, as well as the best army strategists, condemned a naval attack unsupported by land operations on forts or batteries on shore, but the restless Churchill, having (no doubt unintentionally) given the British naval commander in the Mediterranean, Carden, the impression that the contrary was true, and elicited from the latter the opinion that, while the forts could not be rushed, they might possibly be forced by extended operations, gave the sinister order for the purely naval attack. Captain Puleston distinctly charges Mr. Churchill, "in his enthusiasm", with playing Fisher and Carden against one another, giving each the impression that the other approved his, Churchill's, plan.

The comparative independence of action allowed Mr. Churchill was in part a consequence of the inefficiently cumbersome composition of the British War Council, in which such widely different characters as Mr. Asquith, the prime minister, Sir Edward Grey, and others, all civilians except the war minister, Lord Kitchener, who enjoyed a factitious reputation for infallibility, were engaged in what was almost like an "every-man-for-himself" making of plans. Captain Puleston is honest enough to note the unfortunate results of Lord Kitchener's undisputed power in these words: "none in the Cabinet dared attack him in public, or dispute his decisions in the War Council. A critical survey of the Dardanelles must, despite his tragic death, review Kitchener's work and note that he sent Hamilton, unassisted, to organize a totally inadequate force to overcome an enemy whose resistance Kitchener grossly underestimated. . . .

Under the insistent demand for men and munitions, it is easy to understand Kitchener's acceptance of Churchill's assurance that the naval attack would probably succeed."

The author does not spare Lord Fisher the reproach that he did not resign from his position as First Sea Lord rather than appear to condone the strategically unsound naval attack. The whole unfortunately confused administrative situation in Great Britain in the summer of 1914 indicates how little prepared for real war the country was. The results, in the naval scope, were such disasters, or approximate failures, as the battle at Coronel, Antwerp, Jutland, and the Dardanelles expedition, the brief but excellent history of which last fills Captain Puleston's volume. But, though necessarily brief, the book is so well provided with particularly helpful descriptive diagrams (seventy of them), and such a well-chosen bibliography, that its value to the historian must be considered high.

As to the military lessons of the campaign, they were meagre and rather tended to confirm the classic bases of both strategy and tactics. Strategy must, of course, in its principles remain more or less static, while tactics change with the invention of every new method or instrument of war. It has been pointed out by one competent reviewer of this volume that the (somewhat delayed) capture of the favorable observation post, Achi Baba, resulted in greater accuracy of fire from the ships. While this is quite true, observations of this description will in future be made almost exclusively from airplanes. If there is a lesson to be learned from this, it is that the next step in warfare must be the command of the air.

The Dardanelles Expedition will abide in history as a classic of the sort of the Ten Thousand. Its remote cause, as Captain Puleston rightly says, was the unwillingness of the British government to prepare for the war which not only Lord Roberts, but every clear-thinking observer of European politics, knew was imminent. Its result was failure and the loss of 120,000 men of the British forces and 27,000 French. On the credit side was chiefly the inspiring proof that man had not become less capable of the highest kind of personal heroism.

Captain Puleston's last words are his bitterest: "A larger actor in the drama [than Haldane, Asquith, Hamilton, *et al.*] was only temporarily punished. . . . The official Australian history makes the following apt comment on the genesis of the expedition: 'So through a Churchill's excess of imagination, a layman's ignorance of artillery, and the fatal power of a young enthusiasm to convince older and slower brains, the tragedy of Gallipoli was born.' . . . It is doubtful if even Great Britain could survive another World War and another Churchill."

EDWARD BRECK.

*New Governments of Eastern Europe.* By MALBONE W. GRAHAM, JR., University of California at Los Angeles. [American Political Science Series, ed. E. S. Corwin.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1927. Pp. xii, 826. \$5.00.)

EASTERN Europe like Central and Southeastern has had to face squarely major problems of great magnitude since a decade ago. To begin with, the problems incident to each new country in setting up for itself have been serious, of course, and in practically all cases complicated by grave minority questions. Once independence was achieved and the inevitable groups of minorities placated even temporarily, the organization of a form of government, reasonably suitable and workable, had to be devised. Close on its heels came a strong demand for economic reforms that would meet the new situation now that millions of people had been given their political freedom and needed lands to assure them of economic and social freedom. Hence, the wave of agrarian reforms that swept every state big or little at no matter what sacrifice or cost and against no matter what opposition. Over all hung the Bolshevik spectre with Russia in its clutches and Poland, Latvia, Esthonia, Finland, Lithuania all threatened in Eastern Europe as Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania were and are at the South. Verily the leaders of Eastern Europe have had their hands full. Graham treats of the working-out of all these problems in each state and he does it systematically and successfully.

The historical sections contain narratives of the events from the beginnings in the case of the new states, from the time of Alexander III. in the case of Russia. These narratives tell a full story; the ins and outs of leaders and parties, the ebb and flow of major issues are discussed with vigor and clarity aided by charts that minutely portray these movements described in the text, and do it well. The diplomatic developments in so far as they affect the governments and politics of these states quite properly receive attention. A valuable note on Esthonia's attitude toward neutralization (pp. 314-315) is one case in point: to the problem of Balkan security are devoted several sections and the relations of the secession states with Russia naturally occupy much space.

Graham has not merely shed light upon the formation and organization of the soviet régime, upon the political dissensions among its leaders, but he has traced the course of the main currents of the policies belonging to the Communist group dominating Russia. The ebb and flow of communistic practice is the clearer for his expositions. On the other hand, such recent events of a startling nature as the Pilsudski coup in Poland, the Communist revolt of 1924 in Esthonia, etc., are fairly interpreted and explained to those who have been unable to acquire adequate knowledge about them.

The arrangement of the book denotes system enough to satisfy any serious student who wishes to find what he wants when he wants it. Russia is followed by Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland, the most space being given quite properly to the first named although

Poland is a fairly close second, Finland next, the other "secession states" much less. This is true approximately of both text and documents, the latter occupying nearly a third of the volume. Besides the full list of contents at the head of every chapter, there are sectional headings and also a full list of the documents (pp. 559-564) as well as a workable index. As in the previous volume on Central Europe,<sup>1</sup> these documents of part II. are those not easily accessible to the average student and are most heartily welcome.

Thus far no student can complain of the scholarly character of the book. But waiving all criticism of the interpretations of events given in the text, and of the selection of documents, the fact remains that the latter are invariably from sources in Western European languages, and this defect is only slightly modified by the rather general citations to the originals published by *Czas*, *Gazeta Narodowa*, *Pravda*, etc., etc., of certain dates. While by no means fatal to the value of the book, it raises some question as to whether the breadth of view and comprehension can be all that might be desired by the mature scholar. Should we write such a work about America without citing sources written in English?

This reviewer has found no typographical errors nor mistakes nor even crudities in arrangement which he would criticize except in the matter of maps. These are inadequate, and in the case of two of them, are far too faintly printed to be of practical use. A clear, well-colored map of the region with boundaries marked to indicate readily all the sections frequently referred to in the text would have made that text much clearer and more useful. The accuracy with which proper names are spelled (including those of a type not well known in the United States) is notable.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

*The Making of a State, Memories and Observations, 1914-1918.* By Dr. THOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK, President of the Czechoslovak Republic. An English version by HENRY WICKHAM STEED. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes. 1927. Pp. xii, 518. \$6.00.)

A STUDY by one who is the head and founder and unifier of an important state, a scholar and a philosopher as well as a wise, shrewd, and well-trusted statesman, certainly has immense value. The author of this book undoubtedly was one of the principal causes himself of many events he describes; of very many, the chief cause.

*The Making of a State* is one of the outstanding books on the New Europe. The editor calls it a study of the war as a whole, and it is; yet its greatest importance must be in its story of that state of which the author has recently been re-elected president and of which he alone can

<sup>1</sup> See *New Governments of Central Europe*, by Malbone W. Graham and Robert C. Binkley. [American Political Science Series, ed. E. S. Corwin.] (New York, Henry Holt, 1924.)

be president as many times as he chooses to accept election. To this is assigned one chapter directly, but all the rest of the volume might be considered collateral, rich though it is in material upon nearly every phase of the World War. But all ten chapters have significant headings: the Testament of Comenius, Roma Aeterna, In Rousseau's Birthplace (Geneva), In the West (Paris and London), Pan-Slavism and Our Revolutionary Army, In the Far East (Tokio), American Democracy (Finis Austriae, Washington), Germany and the World Revolution (from Washington to Prague), the Rise of the Czechoslovak Republic, Democracy and Humanity. As the first chapter of this book shows, it was the spirit of Comenius or Komensky, the scholar, the teacher, and the philosopher, rather than that of Žižka, the soldier, or even of John Hus, the martyr and patriot, that was to dominate the Czechoslovaks of the present.

The sagacity of Masaryk's judgment is confirmed by the history of these four years (1914-1918). First of all he had to decide before he started out upon his great enterprise how long the World War would probably last. On this point he and Kitchener were in substantial agreement, unlike many who took counsel of their hopes rather than of their knowledge. Essential indeed to Masaryk's plan was a reasonably long war, a war that might almost be called a war of education. Once assured of time, his well-thought-out plan could succeed. Masaryk wisely leaned on the West, not on Russia; he explains why (p. 15 f.). He waited for Wilson's Fourteen Points to be amended to satisfy the aspirations of the Czechoslovaks and his patience was rewarded.

Masaryk hardly touches any subject without throwing additional light upon it: the Russian Revolution, Austria and German diplomacy, American reasons for entering the World War, Pan-Slavism, the breakup of Austria-Hungary, European "Balkanization", Serbo-Bulgarian unity, propaganda, etc. He does not overturn the basic ideas generally held in regard to German militarism, Russian tsarism, and Austrian imperialism, nor their interpretation by the best-informed scholars years since. More light is thrown on the Czechoslovak legionaries in the World War, with especial emphasis upon their neutral attitude in internal Russian politics (they did *not* seek to rescue the ex-Tsar), the rise and fall of Austrian influence in Entente and even in American circles. He explains why Ruthenia is united with the Czechoslovak state; in other sections the Slovak question is treated by this Slovak (p. 23) with frankness and clarity (pp. 221-224), settling definitely enough the exact weight of the famous "Pittsburgh Agreement"; "a demand for autonomy", he says (p. 221), "is as justifiable as a demand for centralism, and the problem is to find the right relationship between the two". Masaryk's conception of Wilson is one of the most valuable parts of the work and is pre-eminently fair and just. So is that of Stefanik and Beneš, his associates, of Emperor Francis Joseph, of Charles of Hapsburg, of Sir Edward Grey, and of Nicholas II., etc.

Masaryk's is not the editorial "we" savoring of some sharing of responsibility, but the plain downright "I"; it would be an affectation for Masaryk to avoid it. Of many of these events he describes, he undoubtedly could say *quorum pars maxima fui*; in nearly all he played a great part. One is in fact amazed at the influence exerted everywhere from Serbia to London, from Petrograd to Washington, of this quiet-mannered, scholarly professor.

On some points where Masaryk should be particularly well informed he makes certain errors. The Serbian Cabinet of 1914 did not warn that of Austria-Hungary so definitely as Dr. Masaryk implies (p. 64); nor was the apparent arch-criminal Dimitriyebitch [*sic*] (p. 245) so close to that Serbian government as "Chief of its General Staff".<sup>1</sup>

The index proves inadequate, a fault quite perceptible in a book that is largely chronological, fitted with more or less patent digressions and interspersed with topical divisions. For all the book can be generally praised on its format, typographical errors are not entirely unknown, as "demcratic" (p. 310), Rutheneneland (p. 258), Tefanik for Stefanik (p. 71), "determinatoin" (p. 372), etc. The head of the University of Chicago is called President, not (p. 134) Rector as is he who holds the similar place at the Caroline University of Prague. We admit also being somewhat startled by "Roumanes" (p. 417, etc.) sometimes for Rumanians (p. 250, etc.)

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

*Survey of International Affairs, 1925.* By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, Director of Studies in the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Professor of International History in the University of London, Lecturer at the School of Oriental Studies. Volume I., *The Islamic World since the Peace Settlement.* (London: Oxford University Press. 1927. Pp. xvi, 611. 25 s.)

As a concise and authoritative record of recent political happenings in the Moslem world, in their national and international aspects, this work by Toynbee stands unexcelled in our modern historical literature.

Part I. opens with a discussion of the modern contact of the Moslem East with the European West with its positive impulse, on the part of the Moslems, to adopt the military technic, political institutions, and economic organization of the peoples of the West, and with its negative impulse to shake off European ascendancy. The abolition of the Ottoman caliphate and the progress of the secularization movement, especially in Turkey, is also discussed. North-West Africa forms the topic of part II. A sketch of the development of the French, Spanish, and Italian titles to control is followed by a discussion of native reaction against the

<sup>1</sup> See the review of *The Making of a State* by R. W. Seton-Watson in the *Slavonic Review*, Dec., 1927, pp. 454-462. One can find a study of *The Making of a State* from other angles in G. P. Gooch, *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy*, pp. 94-96.



Italians in Libya and against the Spaniards in Morocco, and of the Franco-Spanish co-operation resulting in the collapse of 'Abdu'l-Karīm's power in 1926. Part III, is devoted to the Middle East. The relations between Egypt, declared in 1922 an independent sovereign state, and Great Britain, the rise of the Wahhabi movement in the Arabian peninsula and the subsequent fall of the Hashimite house, the administration of the British mandate in 'Irāq and Palestine, and the French mandate in Syria and Lebanon are dealt with at some length. Herein lies the backbone of the whole book. The last section outlines in a sketchy way the main events in Persia, India, and Afghanistan.

The book closes with eight appendixes and four maps and is heavily documented. The material is drawn mostly from official sources, the treatment is objective and impersonal, and the presentation is lucid.

The only regrets on the part of the reviewer are, first, that the author's knowledge, almost wholly book knowledge, is not supplemented by that other variety which comes from experience and actual contact with the facts of life; and second, that the author's mastery of Arabic, the language of Islam, is not commensurate with his mastery of the historical facts. Anyone, for instance, who lived in Beirut when the census of 1922-1923 (p. 351 and n. 4) was taken realizes that that census was a farce. He would also have been in a position to appreciate the machinations behind the act of the Druse Majlis in Hawrān in appointing a Frenchman as governor (p. 412). In one place the author draws on personal experience by quoting someone as telling him "that there was some ground for believing that more than half the land in Lebanon . . . was owned by persons resident in the United States" (p. 352, n. 3)—which must seem ludicrous to anyone familiar with the situation. The president of the Syrian state was Subhi Bereket (not "Bereket Subhi", pp. 14, 402, 444); the name of one of the Uniate Christian sects is Melkites (not "Melkhites" pp. 279, 352, etc.); the leading city of Upper Egypt is Asyūt (not "As-Siyūt", p. 88); the fourth orthodox caliph was 'Ali ibn-abi-Tālib and not "'Ali abu Tālib" (p. 353). "'Abdu'r-Razzāq" (pp. 16, 80 etc.), "Darā'" (p. 427), "Rayāq" (p. 437), etc., should read 'Abdu'r-Rāziq, Dar'ā, Rayyāq, etc. The following are illustrations of corrupted or mistransliterated Arabic words: "*Muqqaddamāt*" (pp. xvi, etc.) for *Muqqadamāt*, "Mustafā'u-l-" (p. 203) for Mustafā'l-, "Nājiyu'l-" (p. 294) for Nājiy'l-.

In the interpretation of the facts the reviewer finds himself in hearty accord with the author except in a few cases. The "creation" of greater Lebanon by the French and the "commitment to its minority population", compared by the author to the creation of a "national home" for the Jews in Palestine by the British and the commitment to the Zionists (pp. 357 and 403-404), is hardly a fair comparison because the British "creation" was a real one out of a clear sky, whereas the old Lebanon had enjoyed an autonomous rule since 1860 and its people under the French have lost rather than gained privileges. Likewise, to argue solely or

primarily from the occurrence of fewer armed uprisings in Palestine than the British mandate there has been more successful than the French (pp. 394-395) is not safe, considering the fact that the people of Syria have already reached a stage of national consciousness which the peoples of Palestine and 'Irâq have not yet attained.

PHILIP K. HITT.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*The First Americans, 1607-1690.* By THOMAS JEFFERSON WERTENBAKER, Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University. [A History of American Life, edd. A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox, vol. II.] (New York: Macmillan. 1927. Pp. xx, 358. \$4.00.)

No one will deny the difficulty of writing social history nor the importance of undertaking the task. The authors and editors of *A History of American Life*, of which Professor Wertenbaker's book is volume II., are putting American historians and the American people very much in their debt. In the best sense of the word, the series is experimental. It is a pioneering work. Both its successes and its failures will aid students of American social history in unravelling the problems with which they have to deal. In the organization of a series setting forth the development of the life of the American people two alternatives present themselves. Certain phases of life, for instance, religious or economic customs and institutions, may be isolated and their development traced from the first settlements to the present. The series under consideration uses the other alternative, dividing the whole story of the progress of American life into segments. The volumes of the series, therefore, present cross-section pictures of the American people at given periods.

Professor Wertenbaker's problem, in one sense, is less difficult than those of some of his colleagues. Dealing with American life from 1607 to 1690, he considers communities which present, for the most of the period, frontier conditions. Frontier societies are, perforce, relatively simple. Professor Wertenbaker, however, has confronted a compensating difficulty in the relative scarcity of records which would enable him to reconstruct a vanished social order. The principal emphasis of the book is on the tobacco colonies of Virginia and Maryland and on New England. The Carolinas and the Middle Colonies, most of which were founded relatively late in the seventeenth century, are only occasionally mentioned. Perhaps because of space considerations, the Dutch experiment in the valley of the Hudson is almost completely ignored. It seems to the reviewer that the book would have been strengthened if the adjustments of Dutchmen to the conditions of life in the New World were set over against those of the English.

After discussing some general considerations, the book opens with a portrayal of the economic life of the tobacco colonies and New England.

The point of view of the author may be found in a sentence on page 21. "As for the economics and social structures of the various colonies, so far from following the plans mapped out for them in advance of their settlement, they were shaped by their own peculiar conditions of climate, soil and geography." Probably no modern geographer would admit the implication here, that the term "geography" does not include both soil and climate and is practically synonymous with "topography". That, however, is a minor matter. Professor Wertenbaker's presentation of the adjustments of the economic mores of seventeenth-century Americans to the inanimate aspects of the natural environment is clear and convincing. The adjustment to the animate environment is neither so full nor so clear. With this qualification it should be said that the author's picture of the economic foundation of the life of these early Americans is historical writing of the highest order. His chapters on this subject have the qualities of etchings. His description of the New England town is equally good.

Religion follows economics. The author deals with the New England Puritans and the Southern Anglicans in a friendly spirit and with a conscious effort to understand their points of view and their peculiar problems. The chapter entitled "The Invisible World" which immediately follows is an admirable statement of witchcraft in the colonies, set against its European background. One is surprised to note the omission of the adjustments of the Catholic Church to the conditions of early Maryland. In fact, the word "Catholic" does not appear in the index.

The latter half of the book deals with miscellaneous aspects of life, such as the practice of medicine, social evils like drunkenness and sex-irregularities, punishment of crime, diversions of the colonists, seventeenth-century architecture, and the development of facilities and accommodations for travellers. There is in addition an excellent chapter on the intellectual life. Professor Wertenbaker handles every phase of life which he takes up with his usual expert craftsmanship. Certain aspects of life have, however, been inadequately treated.

In considering these two frontier groups, New England and the tobacco colonies, the reader is interested in the adjustments of a given group to the vital problem of the maintenance of peace, or law and order, within the community and to the problem of defense against external enemies. The former of these is only fairly well considered, but for the latter the reader is referred to Osgood. As important as the institution of religion in human life is that of marriage and the family, which includes a wide variety of topics, such as the status of woman, marriage customs, theory of marriage relationship (whether contract or sacrament), etc. This seems to be the least adequately handled of any subject dealt with, discussion of it being practically limited to sex-irregularities and comments on size of families. Another omission of the book is any adequate discussion of the problems arising out of contact

between the Indian and the white races. The author states fully the economic elements which the whites borrowed from Indian culture, but limits his presentation practically to that. In view of the fact that the adjustments of the English to the Indians were somewhat different from those of the Spanish on the south or the French on the north, and in view of the further fact that this race question has offered problems persisting nearly to the present day, it would seem fair to expect that this volume, which opens the story of English-speaking America, should contain at least a preliminary discussion of this race-problem. During the period with which the book deals the fundamentals of the Anglo-Saxon's attitude toward the Indian became fixed. The omissions which have been pointed out seem to the reviewer to prevent the book from giving a fully rounded picture of the life of seventeenth-century Americans.

Attention should not be concentrated, however, on what may or may not be defects depending somewhat on the point of view of the reader. They are of minor consequence and the virtues of the book are very great. Professor Wertenbaker has given to the American public a highly useful study full of new points of view and fresh interpretation. His simple and restrained style has a distinct charm. Nowhere is his painstaking scholarship more clearly demonstrated than in the excellent bibliography at the end.

RALPH H. GABRIEL.

*The Pageant of America.* Volume VIII., *Builders of the Republic.* By FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG. Volume XII., *The American Spirit in Art.* By FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR., CHARLES RUFUS MOREY, and WILLIAM JAMES HENDERSON. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1927. Pp. 352; 354.)

THESE two volumes are similar in purpose and nature to those already published, *viz.*, volumes I., III., V., and XI. reviewed in volume XXXII., pages 326-328, of this *Review*, where the general plan of the series is described.

The two volumes before us treat, the first, volume VIII., of Politics in the Colonies, the Revolution and Independence, Benjamin Franklin, the Constitution, the Federalist Régime, the Virginia Dynasty, Jacksonian Democracy, the Roaring 'Forties, and a House Divided against Itself. Volume XII. traces the development of portraiture and painting through the colonial, republican, and later periods. There are chapters on Whistler and La Farge, the Great Landscape School, mural painting, and Recent Visionaries—the Modernists. Other chapters deal with sculpture, the graphic arts, and musical art. The proportion of authentic pictures, portraits, and other survivals is relatively large in these two volumes. Hence the editors have been largely freed from the necessity of portraying men and events from idealized and often imaginary material, as was the case in one of the earlier volumes.

Even the special historian will experience many a thrill when he turns the pages of Professor Ogg's volume, and often he will have a better understanding of, and a clearer insight into a period because of a study of these pictures. Here are portraits of Puritans and Cavaliers, English statesmen, American patriots and loyalists, founders of the republic, and the political leaders of the middle period. Then there are representations of town and vestry meetings, rebellions and revolutions. But one finds not only pictures, but scores of facsimiles of charters, commissions, orders in council, writs of assistance, stamps, protests, petitions and agreements, pamphlets and newspapers, caricatures and cartoons, famous buildings, battle and slavery scenes, etc. The facsimiles of the newspaper press of the Federalist period well illustrate the party battles, and the bitter feeling towards Hamilton, Jefferson, and Washington, of various factions. Of great interest are the pictures and cartoons of the Roaring 'Forties, the Hard Cider Campaign, the slavery problem, and Lincoln.

The text is illuminating and on the whole accurate. One error may be pointed out, however (p. 110), where it is asserted that the Declaration of Independence was signed by all but two members on August 2; namely, McKean and Thornton (not William, as stated, but Matthew Thornton). Four more, Wythe, Lee, Gerry, and Wolcott, all signed later, between August 27 and September 2. Nor is it by any means certain that all of the others signed on August 2.

Volume XII. presents a most interesting selection of colonial and later portraits, historical, allegorical, and other paintings, together with examples of the finest efforts in sculpture, engraving, and illustrative work, including a most interesting chapter on social and political caricature. The text is interesting and suggestive and will be helpful to the devotees of the "new history" when they attempt the grand synthesis of the political, economic, social, and aesthetic development of the American people.

As pointed out in a former review, the chief limitation of a work of this sort is the impossibility of portraying vividly those more elusive elements of history; those which have to do with the evolution of ideas philosophical, spiritual, moral, and even political and social. In spite of the brief and suggestive text there is some danger that the untrained and uncritical student will miss much of the spirit of history while directing his attention to the material survivals. However, this is unavoidable in a work of this sort and it is the business of the teacher to supply what the pictures do not tell. A bibliography is a desideratum for each chapter.

These volumes give further evidence of the great importance of the series and emphasize the fact that no well-equipped library, or student of American history can afford to be without access to a set of the *Pageant of America*.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

*Provincial Society, 1690-1763.* By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, LL.D., Litt.D. [A History of American Life, edd. A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox., vol. III.] (New York: Macmillan. 1927. Pp. xviii, 374. \$4.00.)

WITHOUT doubt the History of American Life, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox, is the most constructive project in the newer treatment of American history which has yet been undertaken. The third of the volumes in this series, *Provincial Society*, by James Truslow Adams, quite meets the high expectations which scholars have already formed for the series as a whole, and it also maintains the standard set by the author for himself in his earlier volume, *The Founding of New England*, which was awarded the Pulitzer prize for the best book on the history of the United States published in 1921.

The period of Mr. Adams's present book, reaching from the beginnings of systematic colonization to the Revolutionary era, gives ample scope to his splendid equipment, and he has availed himself of this opportunity in a pleasing way. The treatment throughout is circumscribed carefully as to time and topic. Repeatedly, the author relates his book to an earlier volume in the same series, *The First Americans*. He also shows skill in bringing certain topics into relation with later periods. If the writers of the other volumes of this series will observe the same punctilious care in not trespassing on the assignment to other authors, and at the same time will indicate the relations of the treatment of each volume to the larger whole of which it is a part, the series will prove one of the best examples which we have yet had of co-operative historical writing.

In brief, the present volume is a popular presentation of the conclusions from a wealth of monographs on American colonial history which have appeared in the preceding twenty-five years. This book, which could not have been written twenty-five or even fifteen years ago, is in some measure a realization of the ideal that readable history may be based upon scientific monographs.

*Provincial Society* is presented in eleven chapters, with a supplementary chapter on the authorities. The chapter headings are: the Structure of Society, 1690-1700; the Economic Basis, 1690-1713; the Aristocrats, 1690-1713; the Common Man, 1690-1713; the Intellectual Outlook, 1690-1713; the Life of the Spirit, 1690-1713; New Blood, 1713-1745; the Changing South, 1713-1745; the Commercialization of the North, 1713-1745; the Growth of a Colonial Culture, 1713-1745; and the Mid-Century, 1745-1763.

The foregoing chapter-headings indicate at once the scope and the limitations of Mr. Adams's treatment. The social, economic, commercial, cultural, and religious aspects of colonial life are admirably presented. But it is to be regretted that the author chose to omit an adequate and connected account of colonial government and political institutions. The nineteenth-century conception of history as "past politics" led to



what is generally conceded to have been an undue emphasis on the political history of America, with the consequent neglect of those phases of American life stressed by Mr. Adams, but it would appear that Mr. Adams has gone too far in the other direction, and that he has given an inadequate account of the contribution of colonial America to our political institutions. A single chapter furnishing a connected record of colonial governments, the political relations of the colonies with each other, and particularly their relations with the mother country, would seem necessary in any well-rounded account of American colonial life.

One finds much to commend in Mr. Adams's pages. The book gives adequate recognition to the German and the Dutch influences, and full credit for the contributions of the Middle and the Southern colonies. In addition, the treatment notes the limitation of the Puritans in education, art, letters, music, and the theatre. Quite revealing is the author's setting of the low moral standard of New England. A brief quotation is pertinent: "The deeper we are able to probe into the character of this period [1690-1713], however, the less reason we find for attributing any greatly superior virtue, save that of more frequent church attendance, to the type of life developed in general by New England Puritanism as contrasted with the life of the Middle colonies or of the South" (p. 156).

Perhaps the most vivid impression which one gets from this account of provincial society is of the growth of its indigenous character during the eighteenth century. The earlier generation consisted of Europeans living in a strange continent. The eighteenth century developed a new generation. Here again a brief citation will illustrate the insight with which the author writes: "In Europe the immigrant had been surrounded and supported by a thousand influences of which he was but dimly aware or not at all—established methods of earning a livelihood and of distribution of goods, endowed institutions, traditional beliefs and customs, political institutions, organized arts, such as the theatre, all sorts of social conventions. He did indeed bring the consciousness of these things and was deeply influenced by them in his new environment but in their tangible forms they had been left far behind, and the new colonial-born generation knew them not at all" (p. 166).

In addition to a discriminating twenty-three page essay on authorities, the book has a minute and carefully prepared index. An admirable set of illustrations adds to the attractiveness of the volume. The publishers have done their part in the undertaking creditably. One concludes the reading of Mr. Adams's volume with the feeling that real progress is being made in the writing of American history.

CHEESMAN A. HERRICK.

*New England's Outpost: Acadia before the Conquest of Canada.*

By JOHN BARTLET BREBNER, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Columbia University. [Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 293.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1927. Pp. 291. \$4.50.)

MORE than one aspect of Professor Brebner's latest study commands the admiration of the reviewer. In the first place the author, having undertaken an historical investigation with the hope of establishing a definite point, found the evidence "too nebulous" and was courageous enough to admit comparative defeat. He hoped, and probably expected, to be able to base Britain's early administration of Canada on her experience with the Acadians in Nova Scotia in the preceding half-century. His research produced indications that his conjecture was good, but nothing he was willing to call proof. In the final chapter of this book he submits the evidence, but does not adulterate it with plausibilities or probabilities. The result of this honesty and conservatism is that the reader is inclined to grant more than the author actually claims.

Mr. Brebner deserves commendation also for taking the trouble to fill a gap which he discovered in historical literature. In the prosecution of our researches many of us come upon zones of obscurity or of misinterpretation, but intent upon our own immediate goal we merely lament their existence and make no serious attempt to remedy them. Not so Professor Brebner; when he found the written history of the background of the expulsion of the Acadians unsatisfactory, he devoted himself to the task of overcoming that deficiency. His efforts appear to have been almost entirely successful.

*New England's Outpost* is a scholarly but refreshingly readable history of Nova Scotia from its Huguenot beginning in the first decade of the seventeenth century to the calling of its first legislative assembly in 1758. For the first hundred pages, more or less, the reader is puzzled by the title chosen for the book. New England enters into various episodes in the life of Acadia, but there appears to be no definite influence of one community upon the other. The ascendancy of Paul Mascarene, however, put an end to isolation. During his administration (1740-1749) Nova Scotia became linked with Boston. This development was due in part to the *entente cordiale* that existed between Mascarene and Shirley, the new governor of Massachusetts Bay, and in part to the exigencies of war.

The scheme of deporting French Canadians from Acadia had been agitated spasmodically ever since the Treaty of Utrecht, but it had never been convincing to the authorities in England. After the capture of Louisbourg in 1745 Shirley became obsessed with the Acadian peril, and recommended "removing the most obnoxious" to other English colonies and filling their places with Protestant New Englanders, Swiss, Germans, or Ulstermen. The Privy Council declined to adopt Shirley's plan; but in that plan Professor Brebner sees the beginning of the end, and

accordingly he attributes to New England the origin of the crime of 1755. Having gone thus far, he does not find it difficult to lay at the same door the ultimate adoption of the scheme. History has usually regarded Colonel Charles Lawrence, governor of Nova Scotia, as being mainly, if not solely, responsible for the expulsion. Professor Brebner, intent upon displaying New England's influence upon the course of Nova Scotian history, points out that of the six men who constituted Lawrence's council two were transplanted Bostonians and a third had been the master of a Boston privateer in 1744. The determined governor and the other three members of the council do not appear to have been even remotely connected with New England, yet the author ventures to declare (p. 222): "The fatal fruition of New England's interest and policy thus emerged from the hands of men who were either New Englanders or who, without exception, had been fairly saturated with that policy for years." To the reviewer this strained conclusion came as a disappointment rather than as a blow; for though he had been conscious of the author's latent hostility toward New England, he had not expected that it would get the better of his judgment. But here, apparently, the temptation to make an untenable claim was too strong for him. New England will not ask to be absolved from all responsibility for the deportation of the Acadians, but she will ask for better historical evidence as a basis for so damaging an assertion as this.

From the literary point of view Professor Brebner's work is better than the average. His style is simple and forceful, and in portraying the characters of the more important figures he shows unusual skill.

LAWRENCE S. MAYO.

*Historical Memoirs of New California.* By Fray FRANCISCO PALÓU, O. F. M. Edited by HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, Professor of American History and Director of the Bancroft Library, University of California. Four volumes. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1927. Pp. xcvi, 331; xii, 390; xii, 398; xv, 446. \$14.00.)

FR. FRANCISCO PALÓU was one of the pioneer missionaries who came to California under the leadership of the celebrated Fr. Junípero Serra, the founder of the Franciscan missions on the North Pacific coast. Both had for many years been engaged among the Indians in the Sierra Gorda, Mexico, when early in 1768, under orders from the viceroy, they were directed to head a band of sixteen Franciscan friars to take charge of the Indian missions vacated by the Jesuits in Lower California.

Fr. Palóu was acting superior of these peninsula missions from May, 1769, to August, 1773. Then he joined Fr. Serra, who, in July, 1769, had laid the foundation at San Diego for the first of the twenty-one mission centres erected in the course of time for the Christianization and civilization of the natives in what is now the state of California.

On June 29, 1776, six days before the Declaration of Independence, Fr. Palóu established Mission San Francisco, better known as Mission Dolores, now in the very heart of the metropolis of the West. He labored there with Fr. Benito Cambon till a few days before the passing of his revered friend, Fr. Serra, whom he assisted in the last moments on August 28, 1784. Thereupon he continued at San Carlos Mission until recalled to his mother college or seminary, Mexico, in the following year. Soon after his arrival he was elected guardian or superior of the institution but died before the expiration of his term of office in 1787.

From the beginning of his missionary career in Lower California, as though he foresaw the grave difficulties which the missionaries should encounter, Fr. Palóu felt himself moved to collect all the letters and other official documents bearing on the affairs of the missions and their Indian wards, for the purpose, as he himself acknowledges, of forestalling misrepresentations. This precious material, notwithstanding his missionary labors and poor health, he reduced and arranged chronologically in four volumes. The narrative covers the most critical and important period of California history, extending from 1767 to the middle of 1783.

In the compilation Fr. Palóu proves himself a model historian. Besides having the advantage of being an active agent in almost everything described, and a close witness of all that occurred at his time, Fr. Palóu is scrupulously accurate. He knows just what the student of history desires to ascertain. He accordingly takes great pains to note the persons, places, dates, and events, with all the necessary circumstances, fully yet concisely, clearly, dispassionately, and without any attempt at literary coloring. He eliminates himself entirely so that, not the author, but the facts with their causes and effects, may stand out vividly as they occurred.

It is this precious work of the faithful disciple of Fr. Serra which Professor Bolton has made available in the vernacular of our country. An appreciative, sympathetic introduction of sixty-seven pages, which honors Dr. Bolton as well as Fr. Palóu, opens the first volume. It is what might be expected of the professor who practically started a school of historical research without intending to do so. His determination is that his students should know the facts of history from personal investigation of original fountains and authorities until well satisfied that they possess the truth on a given subject and are determined to present it truthfully and clearly as did, for example, Fr. Palóu, the great Franciscan historian, or as does Professor Herbert E. Bolton himself.

ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O. F. M.

*The Life of Thomas Johnson, Member of the Continental Congress, First Governor of the State of Maryland, and Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.* By EDWARD S. DELA-PLAINE. (New York: Grafton Press. 1927. Pp. xi, 517. \$5.00.)

A LIFE of Governor Thomas Johnson has long been needed and this effort merits praise as an honest attempt to meet that need. The volume will prove valuable to students of Maryland history but some of the inherent opportunities seem to have been neglected. The Maryland governor is pictured as a man of parts, of more than usual ability, and a worthy patriot, but the treatment is not entirely convincing as the author is so entirely sure of Johnson's qualities that he seems unaware of the desirability of properly impressing the uninformed reader. Johnson's early life is rapidly passed over; probably there is a dearth of reliable material, but the need of devoting the same number of pages to his ancestry is not obvious. The high spots in the biography are Johnson's nomination of Washington for commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary army and Maryland's attitude toward the western lands and the Articles of Confederation. The story of Washington's nomination gives all the accepted facts and some of the gossip of the occasion, but reveals nothing new. The western lands and the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, in which matters Johnson played a not unimportant part, are covered in eleven pages which is precisely the number devoted to his ancestry. The author, while careful of his facts where Johnson himself is concerned, is not so happy in his interpretations and misapprehends some of the general situations. It is unfortunate that he thought it necessary to stray beyond the strict limits of the biography for it is in the field of the general history of the Revolutionary War that the worst blunders may be noted. An example is found in the new variation given the hoary and seemingly everlasting tradition of the Declaration of Independence being awaited with breathless expectancy until the Liberty Bell pealed forth the announcement. The scene is described with originality: "The crowds that thronged the streets of Philadelphia answered the signal from the belfry of the State House with shouts of exultation. Couriers bore the glad tidings throughout the land." The author seems not to have heard of the action of the Continental Congress two days prior to July 4, and that the tidings were not considered "glad" unanimously. There seems no good reason for continuously repeating the misplaced rhapsodies over the action of July 4. The facts are fully as dramatic as the most ardent patriot could wish, but for many years the public has been induced to spend its enthusiasm on the side-show instead of the big act in the main tent. Another instance of misapprehension is on page 272, where it is stated that "as soon as Burgoyne's invasion was brought to an end" (crushed would be a better phrasing) "a large portion of the victorious Army of the North was dispatched to the aid of Washington". Gates, far from co-operating, delayed compliance with

Washington's urgent requests for troops, talked largely of a winter campaign against Canada, and postponed action until the commander-in-chief was forced to send Alexander Hamilton, with plenary power to take regiments away from Gates, if he delayed further. Again the author is confused regarding the British evacuation of Philadelphia in 1778. He states that "As Admiral Howe had already sailed out of the Delaware Sir Henry [Clinton] prepared to march the main body of his army through New Jersey". Clinton's decision to evacuate Philadelphia antedated Howe's sailing and the reasons for Clinton's march were not so simply stated.

It is a thankless task to call attention to such things when the biography has value and the story is developed chronologically, which atones, in some degree, for the rather scant index. The author centres all of Maryland's political activities around Johnson whenever that patriot is on the stage, a method that has obvious pitfalls, one of which is citing the "vital importance" of obtaining an extension of time for the Potomac Company (pp. 404-405) as the probable reason for Johnson's decision to return to the Maryland legislature, while giving scant consideration to Johnson's personal, financial stake in the enterprise as a possible factor. Of the minor slips that of calling Timothy Pickering a Pennsylvanian deserves a smile.

F.

*The Spanish-American Frontier, 1783-1795: the Westward Movement and the Spanish Retreat in the Mississippi Valley.* By ARTHUR PRESTON WHITAKER. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1927. Pp. xiv, 255. \$3.50.)

THIS book is a valuable addition to the group of studies of the American frontier which have been inspired by Professor Turner's interest in this phase of American history.

Beginning at the point when the peace settlement of 1783 left Spain face to face with a new American power whose restless expansive energy, freed from imperial control, rendered it far more dangerous to the Spanish system than the ousted British power had ever been, the study covers the twelve succeeding years ending with the Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795.

Between the old empire and the new republic conflict was inevitable: conflict over the possession of the Natchez district, which both Spain and the United States could claim under the treaty provisions left ambiguous through the adroit diplomacy of England, over the control of the Southern Indians, over the navigation of the Mississippi; conflict which involved larger stakes behind these immediate issues—the destiny of the Mississippi Valley, of the Western Continent.

Dr. Whitaker traces in detail the course of the struggle on both sides of the Atlantic, between "the two powers' diplomats and their frontiersmen, who sometimes worked in harmony with each other, and sometimes



at cross-purposes"—the struggle which tested "each of the rival powers' power of incorporation, its power to produce a living social synthesis out of bewildering social diversity".

He describes the forms of government, the economic systems, the frontiers of the two powers, showing how each affected the course of the struggle. He tells of the efforts of each power to control the Southern Indians in its own interest through trade, presents, and treaties, giving especial attention to the British loyalist Indian traders, Pantón, Leslie, and Company, who for more than a quarter-century were Spain's chief dependence in the control of the Indians. He recounts the activities of the land speculators and frontiersmen, the intrigues and double-dealing of dissatisfied, sometimes unscrupulous, Westerners, with Spain, and their influence upon the final outcome.

Frontier intrigue finally turned out to be more costly to Spain than the territory at stake was worth; the American government appeased and held for the new Union the disaffected West; the French Revolution and the consequent changing relations of Spain with France, England, and the United States combined with Godoy's personal necessities to counteract the influence of inept American diplomacy; and the story reaches its climax in 1795, when the Treaty of San Lorenzo embodied Spain's complete surrender to the United States of the main points at issue.

The study is carefully worked out upon the basis of source-material in the archives of Spain, conclusions being supported by copious references. The treatment is sane and unbiassed; the analysis of the two powers' strength and weakness is keen and discerning. It is readable as well as historically sound, for the author keeps ever in mind the dramatic aspects of the story, the "striking contrasts" presented by "the personages who move across the stage".

Mechanically, the book is up to the publishers' usual standard. The text is elucidated by several good maps.

It would be better, from the student's point of view, to have notes at the bottom of each page, rather than at the back of the book, though the form adopted may be more agreeable for the general reader.

*B* ✓ *The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier.* By LOUIS L. BABCOCK. [Buffalo Historical Society Publications, vol. XXIX.] (Buffalo: the Society. 1927. Pp. 385. \$5.00.)

MR. BABCOCK has succeeded in writing a notably candid, judicial, and generally accurate outline of the military operations on both sides of the Niagara River in 1812-1814, based, as he states, mainly on a careful and critical study and comparison of the official reports of the commanders and other officers of the contending forces, nearly all of which have been printed. An account is included of the first capture of York (Toronto), although that place is not, strictly speaking, on the Niagara frontier, to give continuity to the description of that campaign. The destruction of the villages of Dover and Port Talbot on Lake Erie is

also described in a separate chapter, and considerable evidence is adduced to show that the burning of several public buildings at Washington was a direct and fairly justifiable, but probably impolitic, act of retaliation. A conscientious and, on the whole, a fairly successful effort has been made to accomplish the difficult and often unpleasant task of stating the facts with accuracy and without bias. He does not fail to appreciate the merits of such British officers as Brock, Drummond, Fitzgibbon, Harvey, and Vincent, as well as to do justice to those of their opponents, Brown, Gaines, Ripley, and Scott. On the other hand his condemnation of Commodore Chauncey and General Izard seems unduly severe. Scarcely enough emphasis is given to the influence of naval operations on the lakes. The narrative is invariably lucid and readable. An intimate knowledge of the local topography is evident in an excellent chapter on the Frontier at the Outset of the War, in which much use is made of unpublished papers of Colonel Erastus Granger, Indian agent for the United States in western New York before and during the war. The method adopted in dealing with active military operations is to present in succession the statements of the opposing commanders, which are frequently quoted at considerable length and sometimes in full, and, after weighing the evidence on both sides, to pronounce judgment. His comments are generally sound and well founded, although they occasionally might be challenged. It is perhaps not unnatural that, in view of the circumstances of publication, more space should be assigned to events in the immediate vicinity of Buffalo than elsewhere on the frontier and consequently almost half of the volume is allotted to them. The invasion of the peninsula by General Brown's command is described with considerable detail and official reports are quoted at length, and in these chapters a slightly more partizan tone may be detected at times, yet at the very end of the final chapter, Sir Gordon Drummond is eulogised as "a natural leader of men".

A few errors in transcription and some evident misprints have been noted, which are particularly regrettable in a work generally so accurate. All of them could be corrected in a very short table of errata. "James Wadsworth" (p. 32) should read "William Wadsworth". "Culver" (p. 41) should be "Cuyler" "Delaney" (p. 44) should read "Mullany". General Procter's name, wherever it occurs, is misspelled, a very common error. "*Lady Prevost*" (p. 81) should read "*Prince Regent*". The date "1913" (p. 102) is a misprint for "1813". The statement that "Drummond's official return apparently does not include the loss in De Watteville's regiment", in the assault on Fort Erie (p. 207), is incorrect as 147 casualties were reported in that unit. On page 242 "thirty-one killed" should read "one killed".

Contemporary maps of the peninsula and the frontier are reproduced from Hall's *Travels* and Wilkinson's *Memoirs* with unpublished plans of Fort Niagara and Fort Erie in possession of the Buffalo Historical Society. Six other plans and sketches to illustrate combats and siege

operations are reproduced from various sources. The index is adequate but marred by some misprints.

Dr. F. H. Severance, the veteran secretary of the society, appends a paper on "War Losses on the Niagara Frontier", filling seventy printed pages, compiled from unprinted documents, many of which are quoted in full or in part, giving a vivid picture of the ravages of war at a time when the means of destruction were much less efficient than at present.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK.

*Life and Times of John England, First Bishop of Charleston, 1786-1842.* By PETER GUILDAY, Professor of Church History, Catholic University of America. Two volumes. (New York: America Press. 1927. Pp. xii, 596, 577. \$10.00.)

THE advent of this work has been sympathetically watched for the last five years, ever since its distinguished author began the labor of its composition. The realization of his efforts in the finished work has been both pleasure and profit to all who have read it. The object of this study has been to place before us the time in which John England lived, the stirring events of that epoch in history, and principally the man himself. In all this the author has succeeded excellently.

In attractive style Dr. Guilday depicts for us the life of this great bishop as a boy in Ireland, his years in the priesthood, his part in the Veto controversy, in which he was intimately associated with O'Connell and other great men of the time. We are given to follow the bishop in the many journeys which he undertook in the interests of the faith which he was commissioned to preach. Hardly any important detail is missing in the finished picture placed before us. The glories of our nascent American church, the mistakes that were made, the possibly inevitable, but lamentable, misunderstandings that arose among those in authority, also the work involved in laying the permanent foundations of our church as it is to-day are placed fairly before us.

Dr. Guilday is always objective in the treatment of his subject. The two volumes read like a romance, but it is a romance of documents from which he copiously quotes. He never intrudes his own opinion, and when he gives that opinion at all, it is always based on the aforesaid documents.

Trusteeism with its baneful effects passes in review, and the author shows how Bishop England by his powerful personality was able to use that system while depriving it of its dangers to church government.

What with misunderstandings between himself and members of the hierarchy, and the smallness in numbers of the scattered flock assigned to him, the bishop's life-work—to show forth the Catholic faith at its best—seemed to be a failure. The author shows however that this man succeeded, with the inadequate means at his disposal, in bringing order out of chaos and in building up in the Carolinas and Georgia a church that was respected even by those who were hostile to its tenets. It is true that he failed in this, that he placed too much faith in the power of logical argu-

ment over ingrained prejudice. But to-day his name is revered in the South and his *Life* will there receive a warm welcome.

The bishop's strictures on various nationalities, Irish and others, are hard but true: Irish priests who seemingly could leave Ireland in a free and easy way to come to America, but not for the benefit of our country; ecclesiastics of other nationalities who had little sympathy with American institutions.

Corners of the veil that covered the life of John England have been lifted from time to time. But it remained for the distinguished author of the present book to lift the veil completely, disclosing to all the great man who labored so hard in our missionary church for God and country. A chapter on Bishop England's own personal missionary work in his diocese is missing. True the author touches here and there on this phase of the bishop's life. But surely the tradition which still exists in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia concerning the self-sacrificing work of John England as a most devoted, humble, and successful exponent of the Gospel of Christ should have received more extensive and far more detailed notice. For this is history too.

All in all this work will well repay detailed analysis by students of the history of this period of our church in the United States.

*The Emergence of Modern America.* By ALLAN NEVINS, Professor of American History, Cornell University. [A History of American Life, edd. A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox, vol. VIII.] (New York: Macmillan. 1927. Pp. xx, 446. \$4.00.)

ALTHOUGH this well-written volume deals with those years conventionally known as the "Reconstruction Period", not the reorganization of the political state but the emergence of a new society and culture is its subject matter. The outstanding impression created by this treatment is that an amazing outburst of energy on the part of the people as a whole brought a general transformation to the life of the nation, a transformation which gave to American civilization its present characteristics. That the author describes the civilization of the period as "chromo civilization" would indicate that it shared some qualities with the present age.

The fundamental factor in this transformation is found in the economic development of the nation, in the recovery of the South, in the industrial boom in the North, in the agricultural expansion of the Middle West, in the growth of the cattle industry in the plains states, in the mining enterprises of the Rocky Mountain area, and in the general progress of the Pacific coast. New social conditions, technical advances, and intellectual currents combine with the economic changes to transform not only the life of the common man but that of the nation as well. The prime result of the complete process is displayed as the formation of a society and culture so unified that the older sectional strife is submerged, that political corruption and economic exploitation become integrated in one national system, and that a sirloin steak, French fried potatoes, head

lettuce with Russian dressing, and cocoanut-custard pie become a standard dinner menu in every hotel of the country.

Perhaps the relation of this emergence of new ways of living to contemporary America can be best described by noting the appearance for city-dwellers of what is their daily round of existence. During these years for the first time one lived in a flat, rode an elevator, and raided an icebox; for the first time one hired a typist and "got the wrong number"; for the first time one wore congress gaiters, mailed postal cards, walked on concrete sidewalks, and learned to drink, not to make, beer. But "the militant prohibitionism" which was to complete the education of the people in the technics of beer-using, was already active in the Middle West. At the same time attempts to deal with the housing problem, the disposal of sewage and garbage, and the prevailing cruelties to animals and humans brought the people's sense of decency into active humanitarian services. How this sense of decency was frustrated in city politics is all too familiar to the present generation.

Furthermore, a period which brought the first attempts to harmonize geology and Genesis, and the initial controversy over Darwinism, can not but be recognized as contemporary.

In recent biographies the great men have been brought down from the heavens to walk upon the earth. In this book the common men rise from the dust to walk with them. That vacuum, which the historians have cherished so long in spite of nature's abhorrence, is for one period in American history at last filled. One need no longer study American history without discovering its true content, the people. To exhibit the growth of American society and culture as the work of many men, common men, is an achievement: it is history for a democracy.

If the book has a defect it is that the tone is too academic for the general reader. One longs, too, for some words actually out of the mouths of the people; perhaps they could have been made to speak if packets of old letters had been sought and found. The chief use of the book must be by teachers, to deepen among their students the understanding of the formation of American civilization and to broaden in the land the appreciation of the rôle of average men in the achievement of national greatness. Finally, it is sad to record that the manufacture of the book is so poor that it can not be expected to endure one year's library usage by studious undergraduates.

RALPH E. TURNER.

*The Foreign Policy of James G. Blaine.* By ALICE FELT TYLER. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1927. Pp. 411. \$3.50.)

THIS is a straightforward, carefully organized, fully documented account of Blaine's influence upon our foreign relations during his two brief periods of service as Secretary of State. It brings together all sorts of scattered material, employs unpublished correspondence and

papers from the archives of the State Department, and makes ample but not excessive use of quotations. The author's style is lucid and direct, her use of adjectives is cautious but not timid, and her effort at a sustained judicial attitude is admirably successful. The book is in no sense a eulogy nor is it an attack. It aims simply at historical truth as shown by the evidence, which, in these days of journalistic history and "ironical" biography, is as refreshing as a cool breeze in July.

For the sake of clearness the topical method is employed although by so doing the book sacrifices certain psychological possibilities. A biographer would probably have chosen to emphasize the sharp difference in Blaine's relations to Garfield and to Harrison and still more the changed nature of the man himself, which Mrs. Tyler mentions in her last chapter. "The Secretary of State in 1889-1892 was a different man from the James G. Blaine, the 'plumed knight' of 1881." Doubtless the author did this with her eyes open, preferring to make a contribution to the diplomatic history of the country rather than an analysis of the effect produced on two occasions by the impact of Blaine's personality on the flow of our international relations.

What emerges from this book is the realization that Blaine's record was one of almost unrelieved failure in major matters. He could not get Great Britain to accept his position on the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, the Venezuela boundary, or the fur seals; he could not induce the Latin-American countries to adopt the arbitration programme he advocated nor to follow his leadership without a display of the force which he deprecated; he suffered a crushing defeat in the fur seal arbitration. Was this due to Blaine himself? On this Mrs. Tyler leaves us in no doubt. While giving Blaine all due credit for his dashing controversial style, she quietly but unhesitatingly points out that in every case involving controversy he defeated himself. In the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty discussion with Granville, "at nearly every point his arguments were weak". "His handling of the Fur Seal Question was clumsy, lacking in finesse, and . . . postponed the day of Anglo-American friendship." He lacked, in short, the essential qualities of a successful negotiator.

It is no small part of the merit of this book that it completely disposes of the myth that has gradually been forming to the effect that Blaine was one of our "great" secretaries. That he had a broad outlook is unquestionable. "He was a Secretary of State with greater vision and greater grasp of the interests and problems of the United States than any who held that office between the time of Seward and that of John Hay." But he had no clear conception of the nature of international dealings; no real grasp of international forces. Mrs. Tyler's comment on his correspondence in the fur seal affair goes to the root of his difficulty. "His training had been political rather than diplomatic or legal, and arguments which seemed expedient or opportune lacked the substantial basis which alone would have made them proof against the counter-attacks of his able opponent, Lord Salisbury." It is the same



defect which kept him below the first rank as a political and Congressional leader, a lack of solid intellectual insight and power.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences: Report of a Survey conducted for the American Council of Learned Societies.* By Frederic Austin Ogg, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. (New York, Century Company, 1928, pp. vii, 454.) All who are interested in the solid and substantial advancement of humane studies in the United States will be grateful to Professor Ogg for this admirable volume. The survey, singularly thorough and systematic, describes the organization, means, processes, and needs for research in all such studies in American universities, colleges, societies, councils, institutes, bureaus, governmental agencies, business establishments, foundations, and libraries. The book is a mine of information, and its comments are invariably fair and sagacious. It may be confidently predicted that the study of such a survey will have a large and long-continued influence in the promotion of humanistic research by sound and fertile methods. Even a gift of a million dollars might often do less toward that end than Professor Ogg has done by the industrious and skillful labor he has put into the making of this wise, useful, foundation-laying book.

*Teaching the Social Studies.* By Edgar Dawson, Professor of History and Social Science, Hunter College, and Others. (New York, Macmillan, 1927, pp. xvi, 405, \$2.00.) The author and compiler of this volume has undertaken a difficult task, that of assisting teachers and school administrators in their efforts to adjust themselves to the new demands which have recently been made upon them by the group of subjects known as the social sciences or social studies. Much confusion has followed the proposal that such subjects as history, geography, and political science be brought into closer relations, and that instruction be added in related fields such as sociology, economics, and ethics. Dr. Dawson assumes responsibility for the subjects included in the group, namely geography, biology, psychology, economics, political science, ethics, history, and sociology (*vide* p. 20). He has selected eight men to present these fields from the point of view of the demands of the junior and senior high school. The question might be raised as to whether each of the authors selected is sufficiently conversant with the public secondary school or whether he adequately visualizes the audience to which the book is addressed. Historians and teachers of history will be impressed with Dr. Dawson's recognition of the paramount place held by history, but he makes very clear that it is history of the type sponsored by Professors Cheyney, Robinson, and Johnson (*vide* p. x). This history fits in with the author's own statement of the goal of all instruction in these fields, that of "assisting progress" (title of chapter II.).

Dr. Dawson has contented himself with an appraisal of the best teaching practice as he has observed and studied it over a long period of years and as the result of a wide acquaintance with the schools. With some of his colleagues, however, he betrays at times his lack of actual class-room contacts with boys and girls from twelve to eighteen. Although in no sense a definitive treatment in that it has been launched when practice was admittedly in the formative stage, the results of this pioneer effort may be characterized in the words of President Nicholas Murray Butler, the general editor of the series, as a "most admirable introduction" and a "most helpful guide".

DANIEL C. KNOWLTON.

*Democracy in the Ancient World.* By T. R. Glover. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1927, pp. viii, 263, 10 s. 6 d.) One reads this book with mingled feelings of admiration and regret. The admiration comes first, and it approximates envy. The author could have written a history of Greek democracy if he had wanted to. He preferred to take it for granted, and to tell us instead what the Greeks and he thought about democracy. When he can he lets the Greeks do the talking. The whole work is conversational—lecturing in the very best sense of the term. And the aproposness of Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristophanes, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius is almost disconcerting. They always intervene at the right moment, and what they have to say they say well—simply and tersely. And Dr. Glover is a most accomplished symposiarch. The ancients could not be expected to know how such and such a thing looked to a man who has lived in Canada, India, Scotland, the United States, and thought long and sanely on modern politics and morals. So Dr. Glover tells them and us. Reading maketh the full man; but it takes more than reading thus *manibus dare lilia plenis*. That is where the envy comes in.

Now for the regret. The lectures on democracy in Rome, with the exception of parts of the one on the End of the Republic, are frankly disappointing. Perhaps it is because they are not lectures at all, but we think not. It is, rather, because of Dr. Glover's method. What was he to do when there *were* no Romans to tell him what they thought about democracy? For it is unhappily true that until we reach Cicero there are no Latin counterparts of Homer, Herodotus, Aristophanes, and the rest. There is only Polybius; and Polybius has his limitations. What Dr. Glover does is to let Pais, Frank, Grenier, Grundy do the talking instead of the ancients, and when their talk is discordant—as it usually is—to shrug his shoulders and pass on. There may be *no* method of arriving at an adequate understanding of the petering out of the popular movement in Rome; but, if there is, it is to be found in tracing the growth of institutions, and this can not be done without a very different kind of preliminary study than that on which this work is based. With his usual felicity Dr. Glover quotes Polybius (VI. 11, 6) at reviewers: *καὶ ῥηθέντα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐθαύμαζον ὥς ὄντα μικρὰ καὶ πάρεργα, παραλειπόμενα δ' ἐπιζητοῦσιν*

ὡς ἀναγκαῖα, βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν αὐτοὶ πλέον εἶδέναι τῶν συγγραφέων. "Modesty", he says, "forbids translation."—So it does. But should not a book on democracy in Rome centre round the tribunate of the plebs? Yet the term does not occur even once in the index.

W. S. FERGUSON.

*The Place-Names of Worcestershire.* By A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton in collaboration with F. T. S. Houghton. [English Place-Name Society, IV.] (Cambridge, University Press, 1927, pp. xii, 420, 20 s.) The fourth volume of the series published by the English Place-Name Society is concerned with Worcestershire (and certain areas that once belonged to that shire) and deals with about two thousand names. It is the largest volume issued thus far and, like the earlier studies, is the work of many hands; forty contributors receive mention in the preface, one of whom, Mr. F. T. S. Houghton, assisted so largely that his name is honored with a place on the title-page.

The English came into Worcestershire about 590, when a Saxon people moved up the Severn valley and founded the little kingdom of the Hevicas. Some forty years later the Angles were finding their way across the watershed and Saxon domination in the Severn valley came to an end. The editors have found broad traces of both these migrations; but they have also uncovered a considerable element of British names that survived the English invasion. The Scandinavians, who probably came in the earlier years of the eleventh century, seem to have contributed very little to the local nomenclature. The feudal régime also had its contribution to make, but this, too, is smaller than one should expect.

Inasmuch as the pre-English names go far back into antiquity, they very often defy successful analysis. Such a name is that of the shire itself: Worcester may have derived its name from the neighboring forest of Wyre, but what Wyre means is not known. A riddle from a later time is the Saxon folk-name Hevice; this name was used a long time and has survived in such modern forms as Wichnor and Witchley, but the editors have found no clue either to its origin or to its significance.

L. M. L.

*A Parliamentary History of the Ancient Borough of Horsham, 1295-1885.* By William Albery. (London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1927, pp. xvi, 557, 12 s. 6 d.) This compact and substantial volume about aspects of the history of a Sussex borough, though largely devoid of foot-notes, is mostly written from sources, some of them printed—as in Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, some of them papers in the British Museum, many of them papers held in private collections. It contains numerous portraits and views of places, and some caricatures and prints. A list of Parliaments from 1295 to 1885, the names of the members who represented the borough, with biographical information, and two indexes give further value. Altogether, the book will attract any-

one interested in this local history; it is of value to him who would examine the details of election to Parliament from boroughs; and it has no little instruction for students of the general history of England.

Before the first reform law Horsham was one of the burghage-tenure boroughs, returning two members. An introductory chapter, containing sound and useful information about borough affairs, deals with the period before the seventeenth century, when townsmen often regarded sending representatives to the Commons as a hard obligation, at times to be shunned. After the upper classes took control of Parliament, however, and wrested supremacy from the crown, seats in the Commons brought influence and importance, and were held as prized possessions, struggled for, or bought. A large part of the book deals with the history of Horsham while under control of certain great noblemen, and concerns methods used to deal with the narrow electorate in possession of burghage-right, covering thus a time often generally dealt with or dealt with in some detail with respect to other places. The most interesting contribution, however, has to do with the period after 1832, when Horsham—allowed only one member in the Commons—saw added to the remaining seven independent burghage-holders two hundred and fifty ten-pound householders, and for another generation the place under different conditions witnessed bribery, intimidation, political opposition, and election debauchery the greater because of the larger number of voters then to be dealt with.

RAYMOND TURNER.

*L'Empire Mongol* (Deuxième Phase). Par Lucien Bouvat, Bibliothécaire de la Société Asiatique. [Histoire du Monde, ed. E. Cavaignac, tome VIII.<sup>3</sup>] (Paris, Boccard, 1927, pp. 364, 30 fr.) This third part of the eighth *tome* of a new general history edited by Professor Cavaignac of Strasbourg appears before its two companion parts, and, indeed, before all other twelve *tomes* except those including prolegomena and accounts of ancient India and China. It might well have been preceded by the second part of *tome* VIII., which will deal with medieval China and the great Mongol Empire. A few introductory pages by the editor establish connections on the European side between the close of the crusading period and the circumnavigation of Africa. The book deals with three episodes, of which the first two are of great importance: the time of Timur and his successors in Central Asia (1336-1502), the Moguls of India (1526-1857), and the Khans of Khiva to their disappearance in 1920. Thus the Tartars of the Volga region and the Crimea, the remaining Turkish-Mongol organizations of Central Asia and Siberia, and the nomads of the Chinese area receive no attention.

The outstanding feature of the book, as might be expected from the profession of its author, is bibliographical. At the beginning is a short list of works frequently cited, and at four other points are careful discussions of the appropriate historical sources. Treatment of Oriental and contemporary sources is fuller than that of Western historians, who

are represented only by the most important names. Additional references are cited in the numerous foot-notes, and the text often refers directly to the sources. A table of contents is provided, but no index.

The text is broken into numerous subdivisions, the final classifications being usually related to ruling individuals. Exceptions are surveys of Asia and Eastern Europe in the time of Timur and at his death, and of the "Timurid Renaissance", in which Persian and Turkish literature, theology and law, sciences, and arts are discussed. The apportionment of space seems sometimes to be related rather to the amount of material available than to the importance of the theme. For example, ten pages are given to Abu Said, an obscure descendant of Timur, who ruled fourteen years in Central Asia, and only fifteen to Aurangzeb, who ruled fifty-one years over most of India. A Frenchman should perhaps not be expected to emphasize the greatness of the sovereigns of India as much as would an Englishman.

The book provides, leaving aside questions of proportion, a decidedly useful summary of information concerning portions of Asiatic history which have not hitherto been available in small compass. The style is clear, direct, and exact. Especial attention is given, as far as information exists, to supplying accurate word-pictures of the personal appearance and the elements of character of the personages described. The handling of international situations and relationships leaves much to be desired.

One or two errors may be noted: the Bulgarian kingdom disappeared rather in 1393 than 1396 (p. 38); Clavijo can not have been present at the battle of Angora in 1402, since he did not leave home until the following year, and did not pass that way (p. 64).

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

*Histoire de la Coutume de la Prévôté et Vicomté de Paris.* Par Olivier Martin, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit de Paris. Tome II., fasc. I. (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1926, pp. 301, 300 fr.)

*La Coutume de Paris: Trait d'Union entre le Droit Romain et les Législations Modernes.* Par Olivier Martin, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit de Paris. [Six cours professés en Mars, 1925, à l'Université d'Utrecht.] (Paris, Société Anonyme du Recueil Sirey, 1925, pp. vi, 81, 12 fr.) In the first volume of his *Histoire de la Coutume de la Prévôté et Vicomté de Paris*, 1922 (*vide supra*, XXVIII. 99-100), Professor Martin dealt exhaustively with the status of persons (*condition des personnes*) and with tenures (*régime des biens*). The first half of the second volume, which is now published, is divided into two books, the first of which deals with property (*la propriété et les droits réels*) considered in itself and apart from the feudal régime. Here the author has departed from the arrangement by successive periods adopted in his first volume and has made a systematic study of the acquisition of property by tradition (*traditio*) in its various forms, of seizin and its protection, of the acquisition of property by prescription, of the recovery of movables, of

servitudes, etc. In the second book he returns to the chronological order and deals with the more congenial topic of family law, and especially with the property rights of married persons. There are some admirable pages dealing with the obscure subject of family communities in the early Middle Ages and with their survivals in the custom of Paris, but the bulk of the work is devoted to the community of husband and wife. Everywhere the author insists upon the solidarity of the family which pervades the medieval law of Paris, and indeed the customary law of all France. He has expressed the hope not merely to write the history of the custom of Paris but to catch and interpret its spirit. In this exposition of the family law in its historical development, which turned so largely around the solidarity of the family, he has assuredly achieved his purpose.

If in this extensive monograph, in spite of its excellence, the jurist somewhat overshadows the historian, no such criticism can be brought against the brief but comprehensive *Coutume de Paris, Traité d'Union entre le Droit Romain et les Législations Modernes*. Here a great scholar has set himself to speak quite simply out of the fullness and maturity of his knowledge to students of law in the University of Utrecht. The first two lectures are an admirable exposition of the external history of the custom of Paris from its origin to its decline; the last four deal with the history of certain selected features of the customary law, while comparing them with parallel rules of Roman law on the one hand and of the civil codes of France and Holland on the other. Great is the debt which the modern codes owe to the custom of Paris, and, as has been proved along so many other lines of inquiry, so also in the realm of legal history the break caused by the French Revolution was much smaller and less important than was formerly supposed.

The custom of Paris has played a unique rôle in the history of French law, and in Professor Martin it has found a historian who by breadth and depth of scholarship is qualified to make a most important contribution to French legal history. It is to be hoped that his ambitious work will be completed, as promised, without too great delay.

C. W. DAVID.

*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fourth series, vol. X. (London, the Society, 1927, pp. 344.) Professor Tout's presidential address, which opens this volume, is concerned with national and international co-operation in historical scholarship, describing especially the organization and work of the International Committee of Historical Sciences and its results. Dr. E. F. Jacob has a paper, full of detail and somewhat difficult to follow, entitled *The Reign of Henry III.: Some Suggestions*. Mr. H. G. Richardson draws many interesting illustrations of English History in the Medieval Registers of the Parlement of Paris, mostly depicting the relations between Englishmen and Frenchmen during and after the Hundred Years' War. This he follows with a valuable account of the records of the Parlement of Paris. Miss H. Mills describes



the Reforms of the Exchequer effected in the period from the rise of Peter des Roches to important power in 1232 to the year 1242; the paper is a continuation of her discourse on Experiments in Exchequer Procedure, 1200 to 1232, printed in vol. VIII. of the same series. Miss Mary Coate gives a careful account of the Duchy of Cornwall from 1640 to 1660. Miss M. Lane, in an illuminating paper on the Diplomatic Service under William III., shows how the personal prestige and authoritative disposition of that monarch controlled the new set of diplomats which the Revolution gave him and supplies abundant detail respecting their personalities and their pecuniary and other arrangements. Professor William T. Morgan, of Indiana, under the title *Some Attempts at Imperial Co-operation during the Reign of Queene Anne*, shows the mutual relations in war-time of operations in the West Indies and operations against Canada and of the respective policies of the queen's ministers and the colonial public men. The longest paper, the Alexander Prize Essay by W. A. Pantin, describes thoroughly, with an appendix of useful lists, the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks of St. Benedict, from the institution of such chapters by the fourth Council of the Lateran in 1215 to the final scenes in 1532.

*John Gerson, Reformer and Mystic.* By James L. Connolly, M.A., S.T.B., Docteur en Sciences Historiques. [Université de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux publiés par les Membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, 2me sér., 12me fasc.] (Louvain, Librairie Universitaire, 1928, pp. xxii, 408.) This excellent work may in many respects be considered the best biography of Gerson which has thus far appeared. The judicious arrangement of the subject matter, the scholarly foot-notes, the up-to-date bibliography, and the accurate index greatly enhance the value of the text, which gives an adequate account of Gerson's activities and also presents an unusually fine analysis of Gerson's beliefs. The task accomplished by Connolly is a tribute to the scholarship which flourishes at the University of Louvain. His residence in Belgium enabled him to keep in touch with the latest researches of both French and Dutch scholars. It is gratifying to note that Dutch words have been correctly spelled throughout the book. Typographical errors are very rare, and although the style of the book suffers occasionally from a few awkward constructions, some of which appear to be literal translations from French or Latin, nevertheless the literary form is for the most part satisfactory.

Gerson was a reformer before the Reformation. He exerted considerable influence on both Luther and Loyola. Connolly is tempted to repudiate the spiritual relationship between Gerson and Luther. The latter took from the writings of Gerson "only what pleased him" (p. 359). "How any one could believe", continues Connolly, "that concord exists between the thought of Gerson and that of Luther is difficult to see" (p. 363). However, the two reformers had much in common. Contrary to the opinion of many Catholic interpreters, Luther was a

capable theologian, and it is not a sign of impartiality when one supports, as does Connolly, the following statement: "Luther studied Augustine so little that he failed to understand him" (p. 360, n. 1). But Connolly is in almost all his interpretations a broad-minded scholar. Instead of letting himself be led by a desire to magnify the achievements of the great chancellor of the University of Paris, he admits, after a very careful summary, that Gerson did not write the *Imitation of Christ*. Connolly refers frequently to the *Devotio Moderna* and the Brethren of the Common Life, whom Gerson warmly praised. Perhaps reformers like Groote and Gerson might have saved the Roman Catholic Church from the ordeal which it suffered in the sixteenth century, if "princes and prelates, priests and people had heeded them" (p. x).

A. HYMA.

*L'Université de Louvain à travers Cinq Siècles: Études Historiques.* Publiées avec une introduction par Léon Vander Essen, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain, avec le concours de E. Van Cauwenbergh, F. Claeys-Bouútaert, F. Camerlynckx, V. Brants, P. Lefèvre, H. de Vocht, et Vicomte Ch. Terlinden. (Brussels, impr. A. Lesigne, 1927, pp. 308.) To perpetuate the ceremonies of its five-hundredth anniversary, the academic senate of the University of Louvain publishes this collection of historical studies by a group of its best-known scholars. The volume is indeed a handsome example of typographical art and its contents are of high importance to a knowledge of the university. But it is in no sense a complete history of the famous Belgian home of learning, as its title would seem to indicate. The literature on the Louvain university forms a library of considerable size; but to judge from this latest contribution Louvain has not yet found its historian. Professor Léon Vander Essen, who writes a short introduction to this volume, published in 1921 a sketch of Louvain under the old régime entitled *Une Institution d'Enseignement Supérieur*, which stops, however, with the suppression of the university of 1797. So also does this memorial volume. In fact, practically all that has appeared on the history of the university is confined to the three hundred and seventy years of its existence before its dramatic end during the French Revolution. Of the century which has passed since its reopening in 1832 there exists no historical study worthy of mention. This is unfortunate, since it creates the impression of a distinct severance between the present university and the long centuries of its achievements in science and letters between 1426 and 1797. The introduction does not link the past with the present. Professor Henri de Vocht describes rapidly the ceremonies of former jubilees in 1526, 1626, and 1726. Dr. Francis Camerlynckx treats the civic and ecclesiastical relations of the university with Albert and Isabella, the magistrates of Louvain, the Brussels nuncios (apparently never friendly with the institution), and the Holy See, between the years of 1575 and 1617. His pages are delightfully lightened by many unpublished letters and perhaps the most striking of these new insights into the older Louvain is the

lack of sympathy on the part of the Roman Curia with academic privileges which the Belgian school was determined to protect. Among the papers of the late Professor Brants was found a series of notes on some seventeenth-century teachers of law in the university. These are published in the volume, but it is difficult to see their pertinency to this jubilee memorial. The only important contribution in the volume is Vander Essen's study on the vicissitudes of the university (1683-1713) during the troublous world wars of the reign of Louis XIV. Two catalogues of archival sources once the property of the university and now housed elsewhere complete the volume. These documents are for the most part of a domestic or disciplinary nature. A great anniversary in the history of higher education has been allowed to pass without a thoroughly scientific study of Louvain's recognized historical eminence in the world of international culture.

P. G.

*The Account Book of a Kentish Estate, 1616-1704.* Edited by Eleanor C. Lodge, M.A., F. R. Hist. S., Hon. Fellow of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, Principal of Westfield College, University of London. [Published for the British Academy.] (London, Humphrey Milford, 1927, pp. xlviii, 532, 31 s. 6 d.) The chief value of this record is "the light that it throws on the nature of the agriculture and the general standard of wages prevailing on a prosperous Kentish estate in the seventeenth century", a period for which we have little printed information, and a county of whose peculiar customs we wish to know more. The hints regarding social life are disappointingly few in number but of great interest where they occur. The account book deals with a group of holdings having as its centre Goldinton near Ashford, and extending into Great Chart and elsewhere, the lands lying in weald, marsh, and anciently arable. It is a very detailed statement of farm accounts, covering, as transcribed by its able editor, nearly five hundred pages of items of the period from 1616 to 1704. The earlier part was made by Nicholas Toke, once sheriff of Kent, first on behalf of his father, later after he had succeeded to the estate for himself. He was evidently a man of enterprise and energy, whose many relationships among prominent county families are not surprising to us when we read that he was married five times, and died at ninety-three on his way on foot to London, probably to take a sixth bride! At his death his nephew Nicholas took over the estate, and the book thereafter indicates that the supervision became somewhat less detailed and personal.

To the economic historian the accounts will furnish much intimate and valuable information regarding such matters as the number and prices of stock kept, the exact kinds of crops sown, the importance of enclosures, the size of tenements, the survival of the old distinction between upland and marshland, the maintenance of "tenneries" of waste land kept for sheep pastures. Especially valuable, as has been said, is the information regarding labor and wages. There were in the main

two kinds of laborers, "those paid by the year and provided with food and lodging by the head of the estate, and those who lived on their own small holdings, and let themselves out when their help was needed at a very fair wage". One wishes perhaps that the editor had discussed a little more fully, in her very interesting introduction, the various rents derived from the estate—for example, the lord's rent, fee-farms, and quit-rents, and the relationship of these to earlier rents and services. The history of rents awaits a chronicler.

To the constitutional historian also the book is of much value because it shows the local and national assessments on an estate in a very interesting period. Of local assessments the poor rate or cess for the poor, the cess to the church, the scots for the maintenance of walls and dikes, which have a long history, the "compozitions" on lands outside the marsh are most common. Of the incidence of national taxation on a local unit during the Civil War and Interregnum there is exact evidence, enabling one to draw specific conclusions on this important matter. From another point of view also Miss Lodge's study is of interest. It marks a first approach towards the inclusion of works treating of modern times in a series heretofore exclusively medieval. Since the death of Vinogradoff, the "Records" have been fortunate enough to find a literary director in Professor Tout, and this is the first volume issued under his supervision.

N. NEILSON.

*Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade: the Commercial Policy of England in its Main Aspects, 1603-1625.* By Astrid Friis. (Copenhagen, Levin and Munksgaard; London, Humphrey Milford, 1927, pp. 511, 30 s.) The Merchant Adventurers had won power and prominence as against the Staplers because they exported cloth instead of raw wool. But the cloth they exported was largely undyed and undressed, and by the seventeenth century there were many who thought that the time had come for Englishmen to dye and dress as well as to spin and weave their exports of cloth. Some thought that the monopoly enjoyed by the Adventurers should be ended in favor of freedom of trade, while others thought that the monopoly should be transferred to a new group. Among the leaders in the varied opposition to the Adventurers was Alderman Cockayne, a prominent member of the Eastlands Company. The Adventurers were backed by the Privy Council, but their opponents were backed by James I., who had his way, thus demonstrating the constitutional weakness of the Privy Council as well as of Parliament.

These cross-currents of economic conflict and political intrigue constitute the central theme of the volume under review. The part played by James I. is quite in keeping with his reputation for vanity and false wisdom. The collapse of the project was marked by the restoration of the Merchant Adventurers to power. The attempt to limit the exportation of undyed and undressed cloth was given up. The movement to-

ward freedom of trade was only temporarily and partially successful. The serious questions of public policy raised by the project and by the trade depression following its collapse led to the appointment of Privy Council committees which were in a sense forerunners of the later Board of Trade. Not the least important feature of the book is its revelation of the interaction of economic and political forces.

The author has ferretted out a tremendous amount of information by means of which the shortcomings of nearly all the authorities in the field, including Cunningham, Ashley, Gardiner, Scott, and Lingelbach, are passed quite meticulously in review. The book's main weakness is its lack of proportion. Almost half of it is given to a study of the historic background of the episode. It is a large volume, in six chapters, only one of which, the fourth, is devoted specifically to the episode which gives title to the book. The clumsily worded title is itself somewhat characteristic. In the reviewer's opinion, the work should either have been expanded into a comprehensive history of the cloth trade, or else contracted severely and limited to the central theme. But the author's contributions to knowledge remain valid.

WITT BOWDEN.

*Journal of the Waterloo Campaign.* By the late General Cavalié Mercer, with an introduction by Hon. Sir John Fortescue. (London, Peter Davies, 1927, pp. xvii, 388.) These reminiscences of Waterloo, of the invasion of France, and of the occupation of Paris in 1815, were first published in 1870, but are now furnished with an illuminating, though brief, introduction by the historian of the British army. Captain Mercer (he was captain of a troop of horse artillery when he wrote the journal) tells us only what he saw. Indeed, he remarks: "Depend upon it, he who pretends to give a general account of a great battle from his own observation deceives you—believe him not." But his battery was stationed at the most critical point of Wellington's right, and did decisive work in repelling the great charges of cavalry which Ney launched. Mercer's account is intensely vivid. His description of the battlefield the next day reveals unimagined horrors. Then come the story of the invading armies and a description of Paris, made with the pen of an artist, with side-lights upon the behavior of the forces of the occupation.

B.

*Parliament and War: the Relation of the British Parliament to the Administration of Foreign Policy in connection with the Initiation of War.* By Francis Rosebro Flounoy, A.M., Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in St. Stephens College, N. Y. (London, P. S. King and Son, 1927, pp. xi, 282, 15 s.) This book undertakes to present the facts regarding the part actually taken by Parliament in Great Britain from 1832 to the opening of the Great War in the directing of any measures which actually involved the state in war. A proper appreciation is shown of the difficulty of isolating the subject for the desired separate treat-

ment. Later studies are promised on the interrelated topics of the relation of Parliament to the treaty-making power and the management of foreign affairs during "crises".

The author wisely traces in his introduction the historical evolution of the practice of the principle of British constitutional law which assigns the conduct of foreign affairs to the crown. He discloses correctly that the theoretical independence of the executive was, during the period under study, under a considerable degree of Parliamentary control. This caused the Cabinet to consider seriously the criticisms offered in Parliament upon both the particular measures and the general policy. This study discloses a record of increasing success of Parliament in its efforts to secure from the ministry adequate and accurate information on foreign affairs. It is proven that Parliament either took action or had an opportunity to do so in every war of the period but the first Afghan war, the policy of which, alone, was planned and executed without any prior Parliamentary discussion.

Parliamentary recesses constitute naturally a serious obstacle to any constant control of the war power. Parliament has, however, taken full advantage of its acknowledged right to discuss the government's conduct although clearly handicapped in times of crises. The war policy of the government is found in all cases studied to have been apparently endorsed by the majority, and generally by a large majority, of the members of the House of Commons. The book establishes that the influence of Parliament over the beginnings of war has been more extensive than is usually recognized but discloses, also, no instance found of any pledge having ever been extracted from the government that Parliament would be consulted before a commitment of the country to war.

Dr. Flournoy's study is an excellent piece of historical research, accomplishing the limited purposes of his investigation. To others must, however, be still left the answering of the questions whether British democracy should through Parliament secure a more direct and effective control over the war power and the manner of its accomplishment.

R. B. WAY.

*Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe*, im Auftrage des Marx-Engels-Instituts, Moskau, herausgegeben von D. Rjazanov. Erste Abteilung, Band I., erster Halbband. (Frankfurt a. M., Marx-Engels-Archiv, 1927, pp. lxxxiv, 628, 18 m.) By making possible, after forty years, the publication of a complete critical edition of the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the Soviet government puts the world of scholarship in its debt. The task is one of huge proportions and unusual difficulty; for the editor, one of the leaders among contemporary Marxian scholars, promises to present not only all the printed work of the founders of modern socialism, contained in their books and the hundreds of articles that they published, but also everything of any significance in the vast body of their remaining manuscript materials and the letters to and from



them which now repose in the great libraries and collections of Europe and of this country as well.

The first section of this edition, embracing all the philosophical, economic, historical, and political works except *Das Kapital*, will run to seventeen volumes, chronologically arranged to show the growth of the authors' thinking. *Das Kapital*, with the necessary critical apparatus, heretofore lacking to scholars, will require at least thirteen volumes more. The world-wide correspondence of Marx and Engels, invaluable to students of modern radical movements, and imperfectly known hitherto, will constitute the third division; while section four, an extensive analytical index-concordance, will render all parts of the work easily available. The plan leaves little to be desired. The editor's previous work offers every assurance of competence and pious care.

The seven-hundred-page tome in hand, the first half only of volume I., sets a high standard in editing and printing. Including Marx's writings from 1841 to early 1844 (beginning with the doctor's dissertation and the poems and ending with the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*), it leaves the letters and documents of the early years for the second half-volume. By comparison with Mehring, whose standard edition covers exactly the same period, Rjazanov includes a large body of rich material omitted by his predecessor; he makes distinct advances in establishing the canon (a task of no small difficulty in the case of anonymous newspaper articles); he restores the text altered in various ways by Mehring; and in several other particulars he improves on that scholar's excellent work. The editorial task appears to be admirably done. A scholarly introduction, careful bibliographical detail, handsome printing on a large open page with clear big type, and eight plates showing examples of Marx's manuscript and a striking contemporary lithograph of Prometheus chained to a printing press, all add to the pleasure with which one examines this valuable collection of material.

HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY.

*Five Weeks: the Surge of Public Opinion on the Eve of the Great War.* By Jonathan French Scott, Ph.D. (New York, John Day, 1927, pp. xii, 305, \$2.50.) In this little volume Dr. Scott describes public opinion in the five chief countries of Europe during the five weeks from June 28 to August 4, 1914. As sources he uses newspapers, the views of diplomats, and the fluctuations of the stock market. He explains, in the most scientific psychological terms, how public opinion determined the decisions of individual diplomats to a far greater degree than has hitherto been recognized by historians. He concludes that after June 28 "Austro-German diplomacy" by a policy of firmness "created a situation from which public opinion in various countries made a peaceful escape virtually impossible". The book is readable, accurate as to facts, and has detailed references at the end.

The author has succeeded in giving us a good cross-section view of public opinion in July, 1914. There are some serious omissions: for

example, he neglects the attitude of the German Catholics, the foremost protagonists of that *Nibelungentreue* which he considers chiefly responsible for the war. But his picture is, on the whole, clear.

The scope of the book is very limited. There is no attempt to explain who created the opinions cited, little or no discussion of the history of the opinions, and little discussion of the influence of race, religion, and geography upon the opinions. These are serious limitations. The chief error in the book, however, is the assumption that similarity of views between the government and the public indicates that the government acts because of public opinion. This assumption warps the author's judgment of the policy of each of the governments concerned, most lamentably in the case of the English.

May these strictures not deter any one from reading this stimulating volume on a new and tremendously difficult subject.

M. H. COCHRAN.

*British War Finance, 1914-1919.* By Henry F. Grady, Ph.D. [Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 279.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1927, pp. 316, \$5.00.) The lay reader who opens this book with the idea that he is to peruse an easy and agreeable explanation of British War Finance, 1914-1919, is bound to be disappointed. In fact the book is hard reading and quite technical. It will require all the knowledge he has to get the transactions and procedures through his mind. This difficulty is increased over the apparent hard sliding in financial matters by the organization and method used in the book. It is neither a narrative nor an analytical account. If it were a narrative the author would follow a chronological order, if it were analytical the narrative would be reduced. As it is, the author instead of telling the story in one place tells part of it and then says again and again, "as will be seen subsequently". However, my sympathies are mainly with the author, who has undertaken a difficult task and accomplished a result that may be referred to in complimentary terms.

The seven chapters cover 307 pages and an added bibliography and fairly complete index make up the content of the book. The chapters are called Financial Moratorium, Government Revenue, Government Borrowings, the Bank of England, British Banking during the War, the Money Market, and Financial Reconstruction. The book is planned to make "a picture of the complete financial machinery for war financing, consisting of the Bank of England, the joint stock banks and those other groups of institutions which are a most important part of the market machinery". The author is not wholly successful in doing this. First, the unavailability of a great deal of material held back by the government places a decided handicap upon so ambitious a project. The author's method of note-making, followed by short comments upon the material that is thus collected, leaves the picture incomplete.

The story of war financing in Great Britain centres around the Bank of England. The elasticity of the bank's power of issue hampered by

the Act of 1844 was materially modified by the government and the ultimate authority to issue legal tender ceased to be the bank and passed to the government. Thus was emphasized the danger of too close alliance between the central bank and the government. The Treasury came to control the joint-stock banks and the whole financial structure went under the control of the government. These banks, however, increased their functions as international bankers and actually threatened the supremacy of the bank. In the criticisms that have followed the war operations in finance English authorities have kept the main issues clear and examined anew the functions of the bank. They have also viewed again the amalgamation of banks and the danger such a movement has for the world prestige of Great Britain as a financial nation. The chapters on the Bank of England and banking during the war bring out with clearness these points with supporting evidence. The last chapter is the best in the book. It presents sympathetically the financial problems facing the British world to-day and with entire frankness views the claims of New York to leadership in world finance. London knows and understands that America may never develop unless the truth of Mr. Grady's statement is accepted in full. "For trade is based on knowledge of political, social and religious conditions in the country where goods are sold." Such a phrase might well be placed over the doors of every college of commerce, international bank, and exporting house.

FRANK L. McVEY.

*The Neutrality of the Netherlands during the World War.* By Amry Vandenbosch, Associate Professor of Political Science in the University of Kentucky. (Grand Rapids, Mich., William B. Eerdmans, 1927, pp. 349, \$4.00.) This is a study not merely of the neutrality policy of the Dutch government during the World War, as the title of the book might suggest, but also of the acts of the various belligerents which affected in any way the rights of the Netherlands as a neutral power. During the course of the war the Dutch government was called upon to take a position not only in regard to nearly every question of neutrality that had risen in any previous war but also in regard to various new and novel questions that had never before confronted a neutral government. There being no precedents for the guidance of neutrals in respect to such questions, the Dutch government found itself under the necessity of breaking new ground and of adopting such policies as in its judgment the maintenance of a course of strict neutrality required.

The geographical situation of the country, separated as it was by only a surveyor's line from the territory of one of the principal belligerents and by a narrow channel from another, exposed it in a peculiar manner to the temptation of each to violate its territorial waters or the air space above its territory in the prosecution of the war against the other. At the outset the Dutch government made known its determination not only to maintain a policy of strict neutrality in regard to the conduct of the war but to defend its own rights as a neutral against the

infringements of belligerents. In both respects it set a high standard and in some cases a new standard. Thus it adopted the unusual policy of excluding from its ports all warships flying belligerent flags except those entering in distress or in consequence of *force majeure*, and "warships" were interpreted to include armed merchantmen, even those alleged to be armed for purposes of defense. There is an increasing sentiment in support of this view of neutral duty, for it has long been felt that the old practice of permitting belligerent warships to enter neutral ports for the purpose of obtaining food, coal, and other supplies, and for making repairs of damages sustained even in battle amounted in effect to rendering assistance to the belligerent availing of it. It may also be remarked in this connection that the Dutch government was the only neutral government during the war which took the position that the destruction of neutral prizes by a belligerent is never justifiable—a view which, while it can hardly be said to be as yet an established rule of international law, has much to commend it.

The author discusses in turn each of the multifarious questions of neutrality with which the Dutch government was called upon to deal and explains fully the policy which it followed and the reasons upon which it defended its course. The author has performed this task in an admirable manner. His study is based, in the main, upon the official documents and records of the Dutch government, which he had the advantage of being able to read in the language in which they were originally issued. The value of the book is increased by several appendixes containing the texts of such public documents as the neutrality declarations and regulations promulgated by the Dutch government, together with a full and well-arranged bibliography.

It is to be earnestly hoped that the history of the policy of each of the other important neutral powers may be written in the careful and thorough manner in which this one has been.

JAMES W. GARNER.

*Strenuous Italy: Solving a Perilous Problem.* By H. Nelson Gay. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927, pp. xii, 217, \$3.00.) The "perilous problem", which the author discusses as perilous not only to the future of Italy but to the peace of the world, is the problem of population. With the perspective of a life-long student of the Risorgimento and a lover of Italy, he sketches the history of this problem and skillfully and vigorously dissects it in all its complications and bearings. The contribution of the book to the historical observer is not only a competent and fearless exposition, but the fresh light in which the present demands of Italy are placed by the view that the author justly takes of the last fifty years of Italian history, namely, that the period was not one of relapse and stagnation, but one in which much was accomplished to give Italy her present position—accomplished by a persistent and really strenuous effort sustained in the face of enormous difficulties. He presents Italy neither as suddenly awakening, nor as seeking charity. Ar-

living late, an unformed nation, handicapped by nature for the industrial struggle, lacking capital, she made a prodigious effort, largely crowned with success, to banish disease and illiteracy, to promote industrialism, to develop her hydro-electric power, to intensify the cultivation of the soil, in short, to care for her population at home. Her one hope of economic independence, in the author's opinion, and in that of her leaders, lies in colonial resources and outlets. This hope, fanned to a blaze by the war and claimed as a right under the agreements between the Allies, was bitterly disappointed by the terms of peace. Under these discouraging circumstances the author sees the Fascists as having brought a new resolution to the task of solving Italy's fundamental problem. They are determined to solve it by the energetic development of Italy's own strength, and the fearless assertion of her right to a share of the remaining undeveloped resources of the world which all the other nations have claimed and secured. In Mr. Gay's presentation of the whole case the Fascist movement appears less as a *volte-face* and repudiation of the past than as an impetus to the process of redemption scarcely begun in 1870: in short, as a logical continuation of the Risorgimento.

Finding no hope for a fair deal for Italy under the mandatory system, the author argues for African colonization, for which he finds the Italians peculiarly fitted. He proposes specifically that Italy be allotted the sphere of influence that was to have gone to Germany by the terms of the Anglo-German agreement pending on the eve of the war. The confidence which the author enjoys at Rome lends special interest to this suggestion.

Mr. Gay fortifies his arguments with an abundance of facts from the statistics of Mortara and Bachi, and appends a useful bibliography. By its candor, thoughtfulness, and vigor the book is well calculated to produce a more considerate and sympathetic view of Italy's problems, especially among the American public, to whom it is addressed.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

*Egypt.* By George Young. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927, pp. 352, \$5.00.) This volume in the Right Honorable H. A. L. Fisher's series called "The Modern World" lives up admirably to the editor's purpose of surveying actual historical forces. Furthermore, the author is excellently prepared and qualified for handling the history of modern Egypt, having been brought near by profound studies into the law and recent history of Turkey and by acquaintance from childhood as a native of Britain with the peculiar problems of Egypt; and yet not having come too near, because his public service has not been concerned primarily with the small details of Egyptian affairs. Mr. Young has approached the highest standards of historical narration, showing his personages as living and moving, his documents as glowing and acting, and his events as caused and causing. From the starting-point at the arrival of Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt, through the periods of relative independence under Mehemet Ali and his descendants, of the proconsular rule

of Cromer and his successors, of the British protectorate during and after the Great War, and of the approximation toward new independence under Zaghul and Allenby, with a spirited and intelligent effort to pierce a short way into the undisclosed future, there is no confusion or dullness, but a swift direct march in harmony with the powerful flow of a full and significant time. Perhaps some deductions are hastily made, and perhaps sometimes, underneath painstaking endeavors in accordance with the best British tradition to be absolutely fair to Egyptians, Turks, French, Germans, and all others, can be seen glimpses of patriotic partiality: as for instance that the Sudan belongs to Britain by right of conquest and ability to promote economic development, more than to Egypt by right of geographical, historical, and racial association; or that the complete independence desired by the Egyptians would be a condition far inferior to that of continuance in the British Empire as a dominion or a free state.

Among many generalizations which acutely provoke reflection may be mentioned the following: Egypt has often played, and is now playing, the first rôle "of a captive Cleopatra and of a conquering Antony or Caesar" (p. xiv, *et aliter*); "Modern Egypt as a self-governing state derives from the Great War of a century ago" (p. 23); the control of Egypt was perhaps a hindrance rather than a help to Britain during the recent Great War (pp. 200 ff.); Egypt deserves more from England than does India but has received much less (pp. 221, 234 ff.); Zaghul Pasha has many points of likeness to Abraham Lincoln (p. 271); "there seems to be no real reason for keeping British troops in Egypt to secure either (a) imperial communications, or (b) the defense of Egypt, or (c) the protection of foreigners and minorities" (p. 294).

Errors of detail are few and unimportant. A few statistical tables are included (pp. 315 ff.) and two appendixes dealing with late events. An index is added, but no bibliography.

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

*The British West African Settlements, 1750-1821.* By Eveline C. Martin, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Westfield College, University of London. [Royal Colonial Institute, Imperial Studies, no. 2.] (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1927, pp. xiv, 186, 7 s. 6 d.) In this lucid and orderly study, a fruit of research begun in Dr. A. P. Newton's seminar, Miss Martin adds a valuable chapter to the accumulating history of the administration of the British Empire. In the period which she examines, between the dissolution of the Royal African Company and the unification of authority in the hands of the crown, Great Britain tried three governmental experiments in West Africa: the use of a regulated company; the crown colony; and self-government. With the end in 1750 of the system of control vested in a trading company with monopoly privileges, the crown, not yet willing to assume the responsibility of the forts and factories of Africa, shifted the burden to the Company of Merchants trading to Africa, managed by a committee of nine, chosen by the freemen of the company in Bristol, Liverpool, and London.



This committee was forbidden to restrain trade, its expenditures were limited, it was supervised by the Exchequer, the Admiralty, the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and Parliament. Little initiative was left to it and it is small wonder that it should have been throughout its existence "an undistinguished body", which never emerged from obscurity.

The second administrative experiment was the organization of Senegambia when, by the terms of the Peace of Paris, Great Britain retained Senegal, which had been taken from the French during the war. The government of this colony was built upon the model most frequently used in the American colonies. Its short history, largely that of friction between the governor and the home authorities, came to an end when Senegal was restored to the French in 1783.

The establishment of Sierra Leone in 1787 marks a distinct break with the past. Under the fostering care of Granville Sharp and other abolitionists a group of negroes was sent out to land purchased from a native chief in Sierra Leone. High mortality, desertions, indulgence in the forbidden trade in slaves, a disastrous fire, all conspired to render the early years of the colony difficult and discouraging. In 1791, the Sierra Leone Company was formed as a trading company, with the hope that this might lend strength to the feeble colony. As a commercial enterprise it was a complete failure, though Miss Martin describes it as "a striking and original success" in self-government. Its troubled history came to an end on January 1, 1808, when the British government assumed control.

In the years after 1807 it became increasingly plain that, in an order which had abolished the slave trade and abandoned the tenets of mercantile philosophy, there was little place for a regulated company. The failure of the company to maintain peace with the warlike Ashantis probably hastened its end, which came in 1821, when the crown took complete control of all West African territory.

Miss Martin's account places the emphasis on constitutional machinery rather than on the economic or political importance of such machinery or the results achieved by it, though she by no means ignores those aspects of the subject. The story is drawn in large part from the store of unpublished material in the Public Record Office, supplemented by published documents and contemporary accounts.

ELIZABETH DONNAN.

*An Englishman and the Mexican Inquisition, 1556-1560.* Edited by G. R. G. Conway. (Mexico City, privately printed, 1927, pp. xl, 167, \$3.50.) This is a rather well-done piece of editing of old materials and documents concerning the trial of Robert Tomson, an Englishman convicted of heretical remarks. It has an antiquarian rather than an historical interest; the editor calls it "a few spadefuls from a little garden of leisure in the City of Mexico". As such it should not be criticized for its shortcomings as a study of the Inquisition. The interest is in the old city, and in English Lutherans in New Spain. It is of interest to

the historian to know that four Englishmen were tried by the Inquisition who were not members of Hawkins's crew in 1568; that many of them succeeded in getting into New Spain. The valuable part of the volume is the reproduction of the process of Robert Tomson, the introduction, which mentions a number of English families interested in the trade of New Spain, and the calendar of documents of the trials of some thirty other Englishmen, or rather members of Hawkins's crews, who were tried and received various sentences. The voyage of Tomson to New Spain is easily accessible in Hakluyt, and the description of Mexico City in 1560 by Cervantes de Salazar is by no means rare. There are several good reproductions of maps and plans of Mexico City, and some good photographs.

What is needed is a good reinterpretation of the Inquisition in Mexico based on a thorough sifting of the musty tomes of documents in the Archivo General and in other places. The work of J. T. Medina is by no means definitive, any more than is the chapter by H. C. Lea. There are two small volumes of documents by Genaro García, some fugitive reproductions by Riva Palacio, a chapter or so by Mariano Cuevas, and a few processes reproduced in the *Publicaciones* of the Archivo. The forthcoming volumes of the Bandelier Papers, being edited by Professor Hackett, will show the Inquisition at work in the northern frontier. These are scattered and fugitive items, representing by scant illustration the part played in the much-hated but little understood Holy Office. The task awaits the patience of some of our younger men, well trained in archive work and gifted with the power of social synthesis. The successful aspirant will reap greater honors than have yet fallen to students of Spanish-American history.

H. I. PRIESTLEY.

*The German Element in the United States, with special reference to its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence.* By Albert Bernhard Faust. Two volumes, bound in one. (New York, Steuben Society of America, 1927, pp. xxviii, 591; xiv, 730, \$4.00.) Professor Faust's book, originally published in 1909, has ever since retained its place as the standard treatise upon its important subject. The Steuben Society of America, formed in 1919 by American citizens of Germanic origin wishing to promote a fuller sense of civic and political duties and rights, and also to enlighten the public on the important part played by the Germanic element in the making of America, has acquired the plates and copyright of the original work, to which the author has made large additions which constitute pages 607-722 of the second volume. These additions take the form of notes amplifying many of the original statements, or in some cases revising them, and bringing them down to the date of the volume by references to more recent investigations or publications. These additional pieces of information have been collected with much industry and presented with great accuracy and care, so that the new edition marks a valuable advance upon the old. The new matter has its special index.

*Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings*, October, 1926-June, 1927. Volume LX. (Boston, the Society, 1927, pp. xix, 408.) Most notable in the contents of this volume are the contributions of Col. Charles E. Banks, especially that on the Officers and Crew of the *Mayflower* and that on Early New Englanders in Chancery, with documents from the London Public Record Office. A most valuable help to students of the history of French America is Dr. Ford's list of the titles of 437 French printed edicts relating to the colonies, found in the Archives Nationales in Paris, chiefly in AD, with some additions from other sources. He also gives an interesting series of letters of 1776 from John Hancock, and some correspondence of Senator Sumner with Governor Andrew. There are commemorations of President Charles W. Eliot, of W. W. Crapo, of Brooks Adams, and of James Ford Rhodes, the last, by John T. Morse, jr., being especially noteworthy; and Mr. Morse also, on the society's celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his entrance into its membership, adds a most entertaining chapter of recollections.

*Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*. Volume XXVI. *Transactions*, 1924-1926. (Boston, the Society, 1927, pp. xvii, 505.) The leading matters in this carefully edited volume are Mr. Harold Murdock's Notes on Bunker Hill; an excellent paper by Miss Viola F. Barnes on Richard Wharton (d. 1689), an important figure in the economic life of the colony and, on the pro-English side, in the political; one by Mr. Percival Merritt on the French Protestant Church in Boston; one by Professor Evarts B. Greene on the Code of Honor in the Colonial and Revolutionary Period, especially in New England; and those of Mr. G. P. Anderson on Ebenezer Mackintosh and on Pascal Paoli. Among the documents the most interesting is one which Professor Samuel E. Morison found among the papers of Sir Charles R. Vaughan in the library of All Souls College, Oxford, in which Charles Bagot, envoy to the United States 1816-1819, gives his successor abundant advice on housekeeping and entertaining in Washington.

*The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*. By Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M. [Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History, vol. VI.] (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1927, pp. xvi, 323, \$2.50.) Father Steck has given us in this volume a thorough and suggestive study of the famous expedition of 1673, in which the French for the first time explored the great central river of the North American continent. He prefixes to his study an account of the much earlier Spanish explorations of the lower river; and introduces his subject with chapters on New France in the Seventeenth Century, and Territorial Expansion and the Mississippi River. As one of a series of studies on church history the author appears to have written the book to show that the expedition was a civic not an ecclesiastic undertaking, and that the Jesuits have arrogated to their order more than their due in claiming the credit for this expedition. It was inspired by official New France, and its leader was a layman.

Three problems the author set himself to solve. First, was the French expedition properly a discovery, in view of the much earlier explorations of the Spanish? This from a somewhat technical point of view he decides in the negative. Secondly, he asks who was the true leader of the expedition, and proves it to have been Jolliet, and that his authority was never challenged until the time of Charlevoix. His third and most difficult problem concerns the authorship of the existing narrative, which has been almost universally assigned to Marquette. Father Steck believes that it is the work of Dablon based upon Jolliet's original journal; he admits that his solution is but a theory; it is one which to our mind involves too many assumptions to receive credence.

The book is erudite and shows a wide acquaintance with and thorough study of the sources; in fact it is heavily documented and for that reason is not easy to read. Nevertheless, all future students of this period will do well to take the author's conclusions into account. He somewhat overstresses what he calls the "northern mystery", by which he means a hope for a northern passage to the Pacific Ocean. Father Steck also clings, although not tenaciously, to La Salle's discovery of the Ohio after 1668, and believes that Radisson and possibly Allouez saw the Mississippi before Jolliet; in none of these conclusions does the reviewer concur. We also dislike the translation of French proper names. If James instead of Jacques Marquette, why not Lewis Jolliet and Julius Tailhan?

The book is finished with an extensive bibliography, but lacks an index. This is unfortunate since we predict it will call forth considerable discussion and be considered a contribution of importance to the French régime in North America.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

*Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1729-1740, French Dominion.* Collected, edited, and translated by Dunbar Rowland, LL.D., State Historian of Mississippi, and A. G. Sanders, M.A., Professor of Romance Languages, Millsaps College. Volume I. (Jackson, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1927, pp. 488, \$5.00.) The papers translated in this volume are transcripts from series C<sup>18</sup> (Correspondance Générale, Louisiane) of the Archives des Colonies. The title is somewhat misleading, inasmuch as the contents form a selection dealing entirely with relations of the colony with the Indians. The bulk of the material is composed of despatches and letters to the minister by the governor, ordonnateur, and other officers in the colony; there are also some local correspondence, journals, and *feuilles au ministre* or departmental reports. For the history of Indian affairs in Louisiana these papers are of prime importance.

Editorial work is largely confined to biographical and geographical notes. The translation has evidently been done with care. It should be noted that the originals of these documents are at the Archives Nationales in Paris and not "in that part of the Tuileries which has been connected with the Louvre", as stated on page 2.

*John Paul Jones in Russia.* By Frank A. Golder. (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1927, pp. xii, 230, \$10.00.) Professor Golder's volume prints an even fifty letters written by Paul Jones, while connected with the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, to Prince Potemkin, the Russian commander-in-chief in Catherine II.'s operations against the Turks. With some miscellaneous letters by others, they cover the career of Jones in Russia in 1788 and 1789.

The letters were discovered in the ministries of Marine, War, and Foreign Affairs in Leningrad, and are given in the original French text and in an English translation. Professor Golder has prefaced them with a careful account of the political and military events connected with the Russian struggle for the control of the north coast of the Black Sea from 1669 on, especially the first and second wars between Catherine and the Turks, ending in 1774 and 1792, in the second of which Paul Jones was engaged.

The letters reproduced by Professor Golder perform much the same office as the *Pièces Justificatives* which Jones annexed to his journal of the Russian campaign when he sent it to Catherine II. Jones's copies of these two documents were quoted from freely by the author of the so-called "Edinburgh" *Memoirs of Rear Admiral Paul Jones* of 1830. As, however, the original and complete copy of the Russian journal has disappeared and the *Pièces Justificatives* has never been printed, the Golder letters furnish useful corroboration to the usually received accounts of Jones's actions in Russia. A few sentences in regard to the charge against Jones of having violated a young girl in St. Petersburg are new; Jones acknowledges relations with women but asserts that they were never accomplished by force, and reaffirms his innocence in this particular case. But the letters unfortunately throw little new light on the mass of intrigue in which Jones was involved in Russia and fail to clear up the obscurities of his character, one of the most puzzling in all naval history.

WALTER B. NORRIS.

*A Short History of the United States Navy.* By George R. Clark, William O. Stevens, Carroll S. Alden, Herman F. Krafft. Revised and continued by Carroll S. Alden, Ph.D. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1927, pp. 560, \$4.50.) This volume is best described by a sentence from its preface: "This book, in its original form, was written seventeen years ago to meet the needs of the Naval Academy. And now, to meet similar needs, it is continued to the present year." It is frankly a school history and an excellent one of its kind. It is satisfactory that the authors have not yielded to the ultra-modern tendency to dryness, but have given due prominence to the romantic side of our naval history, and to episodes calculated to stir the blood of young manhood and womanhood. This has been done without approaching the field of undocumented tradition. With the growing feeling that armies and navies are necessary evils, yet still necessary, it is also felt in naval

circles that, though the personnel of the navy is likely to shrink, for that very reason the training of those who may in the future be destined to guide a multitude of untrained men ought to be of the highest quality, both technically and morally. There is nothing in this volume which ought not to be there. An excellent feature, in view of the necessary meagreness of the text, is the well-compiled bibliography.

EDWARD BRECK.

*The Congressional Conference Committee.* By Ada C. McCown, Ph.D. [Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 290.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1927, pp. 274, \$4.50.) This is an admirable piece of work. It shows careful and exhaustive inquiry into the development of an important part of the machinery of national lawmaking. The process of reconciling differences between the two houses is the most intricate in the vast maze of technicalities that now make up Congressional procedure. Its mysteries have been mastered by not one in twenty of the members themselves. That anybody outside should have succeeded in untangling the skein is remarkable.

Such monographs are needed. The part of parliamentary procedure in the framework of government has been too much neglected. Its details often can not be fully understood without knowing their history. Here is a striking example of development, showing how a device, crude and bungling when Congress first met, has been shaped and reshaped, little by little, until now it works with almost as little friction, gives almost as little ground for complaint, as appears in any process with human factors. It can be and no doubt will be further improved, but its serious defects have been remedied.

As a lesson the story teaches that representative bodies can cure their own ills. Give them time and they will meet changed conditions. The cures are slow, dreadfully slow, and many of us wax impatient, but sooner or later good sense does prevail.

This particular device is of especial consequence because more than any other one thing it has enabled American legislative bodies to vindicate the bicameral system. Elsewhere that system has fallen into disrepute largely because of the failure under the cabinet form of government to find a way for balancing the two branches. With us it is the conference committee that steadies and levels.

How the present situation has been reached is in this volume so excellently described that no chance for finding fault presents itself. Not with such a purpose but as bearing on practically all discussion of Congress and its ways by those not of its membership, and to put the reader on guard, it may be pointed out that the workings of the conference committee have attracted attention only when differences of opinion have been sharp, and feeling, partizan or personal, has been aroused. It is fair and prudent to bear in mind that by far the greater part of Congressional business is transacted without excessive friction, harmoniously if not expeditiously. It must be admitted, however, that it is the ex-



ceptional which brings improvement, and also interest. In this instance the author has at any rate displayed more intelligent sense of proportion than generally is to be found in literature relating to Congress.

ROBERT LUCE.

*Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid.* By Frederick J. Zwierlein, D.Sc.M.H. Volume III. [Recueil de Travaux, Université de Louvain, deuxième sér., tome VIII.] (Louvain, A. Uystpruyst; Rochester, N. Y., Art Print Shop, 1927, pp. xii, 513, \$3.00.) With this third volume Dr. Zwierlein concludes the life of Bishop McQuaid. His treatment of his subject follows the lines laid down in the first two volumes. He writes "objective history" (p. x) based on documents. Evidently documents outside those found in the bishop's collection were not within his reach. Even here there seems to be a lacuna. There is for instance very little of Archbishop Corrigan's correspondence with the bishop—voluminous and important as it must have been. The author describes his subject as "a fighting Bishop" (p. xi), and the pages of this large volume confirm the accuracy of the description.

It begins with a whole book on what are characterized as conspiracies. The "conspirators" were Dr. McGlynn, Father Lambert, and Archbishop Ireland, and their aiders and abettors. More than half the volume is devoted to the discussion of these ecclesiastical troubles. They are set forth frankly from the bishop's viewpoint, prejudiced, partizan, and passionate as it frequently was. In the heat of his bitter quarrel with Archbishop Ireland he reports him to Propaganda as "in financial difficulties, occasioned by his speculation in lands and railroad stocks". The author while he repeats this charge takes no trouble to justify it. He could easily have found out that Ireland was never a speculator and probably never bought a share of railroad stock in his life. His unfortunate land enterprise was due to a colonization scheme which was in no sense a business venture.

This lack of critical sense on the part of the author makes the volume of little use as history. It is an admirable though terribly long-drawn-out picture of a venerable but crusty old ecclesiastic who in perfect good faith felt that he alone was fighting the battles of the Church.

The volume closes with the story of the establishment of St. Bernard's Seminary, where the bishop at last found that perfection so long and so vainly sought elsewhere.

AUSTIN DOWLING.

*The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology: a Study of the Issue between American Lutheranism and Old Lutheranism.* By Vergilius Ferm, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the College of Wooster. (New York, Century Company, 1927, pp. xiv, 409, \$3.00.) The theme of this comprehensive, well-documented, and impartial discussion is the crisis—the most important in the history of American Lutheranism—which arose in 1855, when the so-called "Definite Syn-

odical Platform", mainly the work of the celebrated Gettysburg professor of systematic theology, Dr. S. S. Schmucker, was offered in the General Synod as the confessional basis for the American Lutheran Church. To give this document its proper setting the author devotes four of his seven chapters to the consideration of the following topics: the attitude of the early Lutheran Church in America to confessionalism; the organization of the General Synod—whose constitution made no reference whatever to any of the historic symbols of Lutheranism; the life and work of Schmucker; and the development of the issue between the "American Lutheranism" and that "Old Lutheranism" which, yielding more and more to the influence of the greatly increased German immigration of the fifth and sixth decades of the last century, championed the claims of the original Lutheran symbols of the Reformation.

Schmucker's position was that of a moderate progressive. His proposed basis included the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and an abridgment of the Augsburg Confession. Convinced that this Lutheran symbol was too Romanizing, he advocated such a recension of it as would relieve a minister of the responsibility of maintaining the following five tenets—whatever opinion might be held as to their exact meaning in the original text: the ceremonies of the mass; private confession; the denial of the divine obligation of the Sabbath; baptismal regeneration; and the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. The final rejection of the platform is a pathetic story, in spite of the enlivening details narrated, and the manifest impartiality of the author only deepens our sympathy for the able but discredited Schmucker.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

*War Letters, 1862-1865, of John Chipman Gray and John Codman Ropes.* Edited by Worthington C. Ford. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927, pp. 532, \$7.50.) These letters are important in that they have preserved the "judgment of the educated public on the men, measures, and events of the times" and those "fleeting impressions on the public mind" so "influential in shaping the course of the Government". Gray's two years as a staff officer brought him little actual fighting, but many interesting experiences in all parts of the South. He had the gift of observation and clear and concise expression. He told his stories well and his dry humor adds to their pleasure and interest. His outstanding quality seems to have been great good sense and one is impressed with his sound judgment.

Ropes was prevented by physical disability from serving in the army, but he followed the campaigns with keen and intelligent interest. He visited the front, met and talked with Meade, Sedgwick, and others, plied his army friends with questions, and so gathered much first-hand information which he repeats to Gray. His ardent temperament and, we suspect, a love of argument led him astray in his estimate of men and events. He was a severe critic of McClellan and this may explain his eagerness to praise the generalship of Halleck, Hooker, Burnside even.

For President Lincoln's abilities Ropes had scant respect. But his opinions are important in that they reflect the views of an influential class in Boston.

Perhaps the most important letter in the collection is the one in which Gray tells of a conversation with General Sherman at the end of his March to the Sea:

[Sherman] said his march through South Carolina would be one of the most horrible things in the history of the world, that the devil himself could not restrain his men in that State, and I do not think that he (that is Sherman, not the devil) would try to restrain them much; he evidently purposes to make the South feel the horrors of the war as much as he legitimately can, and if the men trespass beyond the strict limits of his orders he does not inquire into their cases too curiously. He told with evident delight how on his march he could look forty miles in each direction and see the smoke rolling up as from one great bonfire.

These letters contain much that is instructive and valuable and much, too, that is diverting. They will appeal, therefore, not alone to the student and historian but to the general reader as well.

*Our Times: the United States, 1900-1925.* By Mark Sullivan. Volume II., *America Finding Herself*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927, pp. xx, 668, \$5.00.) It is becoming increasingly clear that Mark Sullivan is making distinct and important contributions to the study of recent American history. Volume II. even more than volume I. of *Our Times* is clear evidence of this fact. *America Finding Herself* is clearly and entertainingly written. It has the ease and unconventional style of the journalistic writer, but without losing thereby anything of scholarliness or validity. And while we are on this matter of style it may be said that at several points Mr. Sullivan has written bits of interpretation that are noteworthy for insight, poetic feeling, and excellence of diction (for example pages 490-492).

Approximately the first third of the book is devoted to a definition and appraisal of "The American Mind"—by which Mr. Sullivan means the intellectual equipment of that portion of the American public which became of age between 1900 and 1925, and therefore presumably got most of its elementary educational training during the quarter-century before 1900. In order to determine the elements of this "Mind", Mr. Sullivan asked scores of people all over the United States to tell him what elementary text-books they used while in school—the readers, spellers, geographies, and histories. Many of his correspondents have recorded for him the facts and theories which came from those books and which still remain in their memories. The material thus brought together and interpreted constitutes an important contribution to an understanding of the minds of many school boards who choose historical text-books.

Scarcely less valuable is the exposition of some aspects of the Roosevelt administrations, especially his handling of the trust problem, the coal strike of 1902, and the "Crusade for Pure Food". In the discussion of

such historical events Mr. Sullivan's wide acquaintance as a journalist has given him an advantage possessed by few academic historians. Some aspects of the coal strike, for example, Mr. Sullivan discussed with President Roosevelt; his account of *The Jungle* and the resulting muck-raking campaign was read by Mr. Upton Sinclair; and his story of the early days of the airplane by Mr. Orville Wright (see these and other examples on pages 438, 480, 493, 501, 523, 553, 585).

Mr. Sullivan's account of the rise of the trust as an element in America's industrial situation is interesting and important, both in detail and in its mass effect, but the wealth of illustrative material showing concretely the effects of great corporations on the daily life of the American people is perhaps even more illuminating.

The general reader will find this book quite worth his while, and the teacher of recent American history will discover uses for it as "outside reading". The reviewer wishes to urge the publishers, as he did in reviewing volume I., to consider the possibilities of a cheaper or "student edition" which will enable more teachers to make use of Mr. Sullivan's work.

CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

*The History of Bowdoin College.* By Louis C. Hatch. (Portland, Me., Loring, Short, and Harmon, 1927, pp. xii, 500, \$5.00.) This is the fullest and best history of Bowdoin. Though the author is indebted to Cleaveland and Packard's *History* (1882) and Little's *Historical Sketch* (1894) for much of his information about the early years of the college, he has utilized a large amount of additional material. Letters and reports of the presidents; official records of the trustees; publications of the students, minutes of their societies, and other memorials of their activities; and the extensive collection of recollections, clippings, and other records assembled by the librarians of the college during the last forty years have been searched by Dr. Hatch with a keen appreciation of their historical value. For the period after 1894 the present work is the only history available.

Dr. Hatch confines his attention to the origin and development of Bowdoin as an institution of learning and wisely refrains from wandering into the attractive by-paths opened up by the lives of the illustrious alumni. His chosen subject he interprets broadly. He traces the work of the boards, presidents, and faculty, the significant changes of the curriculum and of educational methods and ideals, the material growth of the institution, the activities of the students, and many developments of lesser importance. Student life receives exceptionally valuable and illuminating treatment. The discipline of the students, their intellectual interests, their various attempts to reform the curriculum and to govern themselves, their social and athletic activities, their changing attitude toward religion, and the rise and fall among them of periods of restlessness akin to that manifested by so many bodies of students to-day are parts of a story of interest not only to the alumni of Bowdoin but also to stu-

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXXIII.—46

dents of the educational, religious, or social history of the United States since 1794. The latter may miss foot-notes referring to the sources, although there is no question about the general reliability of the narrative. The book is as interesting as it is informative.

W. E. LUNT.

*Harvard College Records: Corporation Records, 1636-1750.* Two volumes. [Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, vols. XV., XVI., Collections printed in Memory of Frederick Lewis Gay.] (Boston, the Society, 1925, pp. clxxx, x, 1003.) The publication of the *Harvard College Records (Corporation Records)* is an event of unusual importance in the intellectual history of the American colonies. One calls to mind only one other instance of an attempt to publish in full similar records of a colonial college, namely the Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College, 1729-1783, printed in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, vols. I.-V., XIII.-XV., together with other college records scattered through the volumes of this magazine.

The first volume has a valuable and learned introduction of 176 pages, which describes the various college buildings, and gives lists of college officers, commencement days, and meetings. The records printed consist of the corporation and overseers' records in "College Books" I., III., and IV., the second having been lost, though much of its material is preserved in transcript in the other books. There are other Harvard records not printed in these two volumes, such as later college books, account books, diaries, and, in particular, the faculty records. It is hoped that these also will some time be published.

The contents of the volumes are varied and include other matter than the formal record of the meetings of the corporation and overseers. There are for example college accounts, college laws and orders, lists of graduates, records of gifts and legacies, including the books given by John Harvard and John Winthrop, library rules, inventories, "Rules and Orders respecting the Steward, Cook, and Butler of Harvard College" (pp. 259-262), college lands, etc. There is, of course, a mine of information on courses of study, work of tutors and professors, college discipline, administration, finance, and other matters pertaining directly to the college.

These volumes not only concern the educational history of Harvard College, but they also throw light on other subjects, such as family history and genealogy, social customs, "placing" according to social rank, customs, matters of dress, etc. We note that a student was degraded for wearing a woman's apparel, while the problem of when and when not to wear hats was a subject of considerable regulation. So also there is information on punishment, cider, gambling, bills of credit, Indians, Massachusetts, the relation of the college to the General Court and to Governor Dudley.

There is evidence of careful and thorough editing, and numerous explanatory notes and comments help one to understand the text. There is also a glossary and an unusually complete index. In short these volumes are a model for other colleges to follow in the publication of their records.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

*Charleston, South Carolina.* Edited by Albert Simons, A.I.A., and Samuel Lapham, jr., A.I.A. [Octagon Library of Early American Architecture, vol. I.] (New York, American Institute of Architects, 1927, pp. 220, \$20.00.) It is rare that a book prepared for the office use of architects has the historical value of this one. Mr. Simons's previous collaboration in the Huger Smiths' admirable *Dwelling Houses of Charleston* (1917), earlier reviewed in these pages, had already led us to expect the results of careful investigation, even though the text embodying them be of the briefest. The new volume is primarily one of plates—photographs and measured plans and details, intelligently arranged and edited. The historical order is followed, in three sections dealing with the prerevolutionary, postrevolutionary, and ante-bellum periods. In each section there come first the old maps, then a concrete introductory text, then the plates, beginning with churches and public buildings, following with the houses, each group in the order of date. For this arrangement to have value, the dating must be accurate, based primarily on documentary research and archaeological evidence, and checked ultimately by congruity in the evolution of style. The reviewer considers the dating here to have been done most conscientiously, and the resulting picture of evolution is very illuminating. The authorship of many buildings has also been well established from documents, and is summarized at the end, with facsimiles of signatures and certain documents. The only omissions one may well deplore are plate numbers and an index, or at least a table of contents.

We need not discuss here the aesthetic character of the work illustrated, other than to emphasize its intimate relation to the climate, culture, and economy of South Carolina. Myths which have grown up about Charleston architecture, such as that of French influence from the refugees, receive little support in this volume.

It is to be hoped that the American Institute of Architects will persevere in the plan of continuing the series of monographs of which this is the first, and that the same spirit of careful scholarship may permeate the editors of succeeding numbers.

FISKE KIMBALL.

*Colorado: Short Studies of its Past and Present.* [University of Colorado Semicentennial Publications.] (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1927, pp. x, 202, \$2.00.) More than half of this co-operative volume is devoted to an assembling and checking of the background facts against which the history of Colorado as an American state may be some



day presented. The work has been done with conscience and industry. The chapter by Professor Goodykoontz upon exploration and settlement gathers and restates the fragments of the larger history of Rocky Mountain development that are of local interest to the Colorado reader; while Professor Willard has broken new ground in his search for sources that illustrate the period of the gold rush. The latter chapter, indeed, covers an episode that belongs peculiarly to Colorado. The earlier chapters upon prehistory and the Indians suffer somewhat because Colorado is a legislative grouping of fragments that are structurally attached to other regions. The concluding chapters on education and literature are topical descriptions that are not connected, in this volume, with the state as a corporate group or a social entity. The volume lacks any attempt to picture the state of Colorado as a going concern.

*Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Explorer and Fur-Trader.* By Hume Wrong, Assistant Professor of History, University of Toronto. [Canadian Men of Action, IV.] (Toronto, Macmillan, 1927, pp. 171, \$1.00.) It is a fact, sometimes lost sight of, that books of exploration fill a very much larger place in the literature of young countries like the United States and Canada than in that of European lands. Canada particularly is rich in printed material relating to the achievements of her early pathfinders by land and sea. Within a few months, for instance, a new edition has been published of the *Voyages* of Sir Alexander Mackenzie and three substantial studies of the man and his discoveries. Of these latter, one that will appeal to many readers who are not so much interested in small points of controversy as in the general results of Mackenzie's explorations and the personality of the man is a compact little volume by Hume Wrong, formerly assistant professor of history in the University of Toronto, and now a member of the staff of the Canadian legation at Washington. Mr. Wrong admirably summarizes the story of Mackenzie's memorable journeys to the Arctic in 1789 and to the Pacific in 1793, reminds us that his overland journey preceded that of Lewis and Clark by a dozen years, tells what is necessary about his early life and later years, and compresses into a few sentences the consequences of his work as an explorer: "Though the idea of a British dominion on the Pacific had been put forward at intervals ever since Drake had created his shadowy New Albion in the sixteenth century, Mackenzie first made its realization possible. By daring, without support or encouragement, to continue his quest for a passage by land across the continent through toil and danger to success, he linked the Pacific Coast with territories already in British possession before any rivals had occupied the field. By urging on his return the immense importance of following up his discoveries through the occupation of the coast by British subjects, he advocated clearly for the first time the grand design which has been fulfilled in the Dominion of Canada. By encouraging the North West Company, when he was its most influential member, to push westwards beyond the Rockies, he inspired the first faint accomplishment of that vision, in spite

of the apathy of the government and the jealousy of rival interests. By repeating, after numerous failures and rebuffs, his efforts to unite all the trading interests in the North-West in one strong concern, he helped, probably more than anyone else, to secure that result, and with it the effective occupation of modern British Columbia. To the laurels which he won as an explorer and fur-trader another wreath should be added in recognition of his statesmanship."

Attention should be drawn to the novel and effective end-papers illustrating Mackenzie's route to the Arctic and Pacific respectively.

L. J. B.

## CORRECTIONS.

### I.

An unfortunate editorial error committed on page 422 of our last issue, in the course of a review of Dr. Howard C. Hill's *Roosevelt and the Caribbean*, has done injustice both to the author of the book and to the reviewer. A little obscurity in certain alterations made by the latter in his manuscript caused quotation-marks to be placed around the first of three sentences intended to be quoted and around the concluding words of the third sentence, whereas all three sentences were, and should have been represented as being, the expression of the writer's opinion, rather than the reviewer's. To make the matter clear, we here append the quotation in the form in which it should have been given, from page 212 of Dr. Hill's book.

"It should be added also that Roosevelt numbered among his advisers and associates both in the Cabinet and in the diplomatic service men like Bacon and Meyer who in days past had had close connections with powerful financial interests in New York City. But for all the actions and relationships mentioned above political rather than economic considerations seem to have determined Roosevelt's course. . . . That Roosevelt was influenced in his Caribbean policy by the economic tendencies of his day is of course beyond question, but no evidence has been found to support the thesis that either his measures or his actions were determined by, or were the result of, economic considerations pressed upon him by American financiers, business men, and corporations."

### II.

On page 483 of the January number an article on "Barère, Champion of Nationalism in the French Revolution", published in the *Political Science Quarterly* for September, was incorrectly attributed to Mr. E. E. Cummins. The author of the article is Mr. Leo Gershoy.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

After June 5, letters intended for the managing editor of this journal should be addressed to "Professor Dana C. Munro, Editor, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.", from which place they will be forwarded. After September Dr. Munro will be in Washington. The retiring editor, Mr. Jameson, will be responsible for the July number, but sails to Europe in June, for various work, returning in September to Washington, and to the Library of Congress.

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Committee on Programme for the Indianapolis meeting of the American Historical Association, December 28-31, will be glad to have papers submitted to it with a view to their being presented at that meeting. To a considerable degree the programme will be arranged by the committee along lines chosen by it, as to both subjects and authors of papers. There is, however, room on the programme for volunteers. Any historical scholar who has material which would be of interest and value is requested to submit it to the chairman of the committee, Christopher B. Coleman, 334 State House, Indianapolis, Ind.

The volume of essays by pupils of Professor Dana C. Munro, presented to him in manuscript at the conclusion of his address delivered in Rochester last Christmas as president of the American Historical Association, has just appeared in print. The book, prepared under the general editorship of Professor Louis J. Paetow, of the University of California, is entitled *The Crusades and other Historical Essays* (New York, F. S. Crofts and Co.), eight of the twelve essays which it contains being occupied with themes connected with the Crusades.

The twenty-third annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch was held at the University of California on December 29-30, 1927. The president of the Branch, Dr. Cardinal Goodwin, presided, and read a presidential address on Union Sentiment and the West in the Decade of the 'Forties. In the European field there were papers on Public Opinion on Declared War Aims in France and Germany, by Miss Ebba Dahlin of Washington, and on British Labor Legislation in the Period before the General Strike, by F. H. Herrick of Mills College; in the American field, on Recent Developments in Maya Research, by R. Roys of Tulane University, on the West Indian Planter as a Colonial Type, by Professor F. W. Pitman of Pomona College, on the Economic Aspects of the Gold Era, by Professor Osgood Hardy of Occidental College, on Oregon and Calles, by Professor Herbert I. Priestley of the University of California, and on the experiences of a Western state historical society (Nevada), by Miss Jeanne E. Wier.

The American Historical Association, in common with nine other national societies devoted to the social sciences, co-operates in the production of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, the successful maintenance of which has been assured by the energy and enterprise of Professor E. R. A. Seligman, its editor-in-chief. The undertaking is for a publication of about ten volumes, of which the first is expected to appear in the spring of 1929, the others within a limit of from five to seven years. Dr. Alvin S. Johnson is assistant editor. Among the advisory editors Professors Sidney B. Fay and Arthur M. Schlesinger represent history. The encyclopaedia is intended to provide for the scholar a synopsis of the progress that has been made in the various fields of social science, and to furnish a repository of facts and principles for the use of the legislator, the editor, the publicist, the business man, and others interested. Besides many American writers, English and Continental scholars will co-operate in its production. The plan contemplates compactly organized topics, rather than extended treatises, but there will be an important introduction, including a history of the social sciences, an analysis of terminology, and a careful bibliography. The large sum of money needed for the conduct of the enterprise has already been raised by Professor Seligman.

Number 3 of the *Bulletin* of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (Paris, Les Presses Universitaires; Boston, Faxon and Co., 83 Francis Street) presents full reports of the general meeting held by that committee in Göttingen May 13 and 14, 1927, and of the meeting, on the previous day, of the special committee on the International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography. These proceedings, notable for the presence of representatives of twenty-one nations, including those that ten years ago were at war, embraced discussions of many matters of great interest to historical scholars. The *Bulletin* also contains accounts of the organization of historical scholars in many countries, those relating to Germany, Argentina, Brazil, and Czechoslovakia being especially full and interesting.

The Social Science Research Council wishes to call the attention of research workers to its plan of grants-in-aid. These grants, unlike the Council's fellowships, are not awarded merely once a year but are available throughout the year. The next meeting of the Council's committee on them is scheduled for the middle of June. The primary interest of the committee is to bring about the completion of a piece of research, rather than the development of promising researchers. Preference will be given to proposals which involve improvement of technique and development of methods, or which involve two or more of the social sciences, including history, or which relate to problems of present scientific significance. Preference will ordinarily be given to applicants from smaller institutions, from which financial aid for social research is not at present available. Grants will ordinarily be proposed only (a) when a substantial amount of work has already been done; (b) when the need for financial assistance

is demonstrated; and (c) when a definite plan for future work has been presented. Applications may be submitted at any time and will be considered at the next meeting of the committee; they should be sent to the office of the Council, 50 East 42d Street, New York City.

The Social Science Research Council announces plans for the establishment of a *Journal of Abstracts of the Social Sciences*, for which one of the great foundations has provided a large subsidy for a period of ten years. Advisory committees have been appointed in the fields of cultural anthropology, economics, history, human geography, social science, psychology, statistics, the committee of the American Historical Association consisting of Messrs. Sidney B. Fay, Joseph C. Green, and William L. Langer. The journal will be issued monthly, and will contain systematic abstracts of new information published in the fields indicated, the annual number of abstracts thus furnished being estimated at from 15,000 to 20,000 titles. The chairman of the Council's committee is Professor F. Stuart Chapin, of the University of Minnesota.

#### PERSONAL

Through a tragical accident in the streets of Washington, January 27, the American Historical Association has to mourn the loss of its devoted secretary, Professor John Spencer Bassett of Smith College, who died in the full vigor of his remarkable powers of work at the age of sixty. He had been professor in Smith College since 1906; for thirteen years before that he had been professor in Trinity College, now Duke University, active in all its progress and for some years editor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. His earlier publications concerned the history of North Carolina, relating to its constitutional history, the Regulators, and slavery. In 1905 he contributed a volume on the Federalist period to the *American Nation* series. His best known work, aside from his *Short History of the United States*, a widely used text-book, was his *Life of Andrew Jackson* (1911), an admirable biography, based on thorough research, sympathetic yet discriminating, and highly readable. He edited for the Carnegie Institution of Washington the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, of which three volumes have been published, and the remaining three were left by him in shape for publication. His tireless labors also included a book on *The Middle Group of American Historians* (1917) and a history of *Our War with Germany* (1919), and a few days before his death he had read the last proofs of a volume on the history of the League of Nations, whose operations he had had especial facilities for observing in a leave of absence during the preceding year.

Professor Bassett became secretary of the American Historical Association in 1919, and for eight years he devoted to it unstinted time and labor and his best thought. His intelligent oversight of its affairs, and especially his zealous labors in the Committee on Endowment, will be greatly missed. Most painful, however, is the loss of his genial presence, for he was the soul of good nature, a man of universal friendliness,



thoughtful, kind, considerate, and tranquil, although on the most critical occasions of his life he had shown that, with all his amiability, he had abundance of manly courage and devotion to principle.

On the same day, January 27, occurred in Italy the death of Dr. Clarence W. Alvord, aged fifty-nine, who taught history for nineteen years in the University of Illinois (professor 1913-1920), and from 1920 to 1923 was a professor of history in the University of Minnesota. For fourteen years he was general editor of the *Illinois Historical Collections*, and he was managing editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* from its beginning in 1914 till 1923. His chief independent publication was his *Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (1917), to which the Loubat Prize was awarded that year.

Archibald Cary Coolidge, professor of history in Harvard University, and since 1911 director of the university library, died on January 14, at the age of sixty-one. He was instructor in history in his university from 1893 to 1899, assistant professor from 1899 to 1908, and professor since the latter year, and in the year before the World War was Harvard exchange professor in the University of Berlin. On many occasions he was engaged in the diplomatic service of the country, especially in eastern Europe, and, during certain years after the war, in the work of the American Relief Administration in Russia. His books on *The United States as a World Power* (1908) and on *The Origins of the Triple Alliance* (1917) are well and favorably known. He was a frequent contributor to this journal, and from 1920 to 1924 a member of its Board of Editors. He was a man of wide knowledge of European diplomatic history, especially in recent periods, a skillful teacher, a genial friend, and a man of great public spirit and executive ability.

Herbert Darling Foster, professor of history in Dartmouth College since 1893, died suddenly on December 27, at the age of sixty-four. He died in England, having gone to Europe last June for a year's leave of absence. He had long been occupied with studies respecting the historical influence of Calvinism, a topic on which he contributed two valued articles to this journal. His leave of absence during the present academic year was intended for further work toward a book on that subject. Professor Foster was a man of most lovable character, and exceptionally warm in friendship, and the loss of his kind and genial presence will be widely felt.

Miss Cleo Hearon, head of the department of history in Agnes Scott College, died on January 11, at the age of forty-eight. She had been connected with that institution since 1918, and before that had taught in the Mississippi State College for Women, in Westhampton, Wellesley, and Ripon colleges, and everywhere had been highly regarded for her skill in teaching and for her personal character. She was the author of a monograph on *Mississippi and the Compromise of 1850*.

Professor Elmer C. Griffith, of Kalamazoo College, author of brief treatises on *The Rise and Development of the Gerrymander* and on *Early Banking in Kentucky*, died on February 21, at the age of fifty-eight.

Miss Catharine C. Cleveland, author of an excellent book on *The Great Revival in the West, 1797-1850* (1916), died in Chicago on March 6.

In Harvard University Dr. Crane Brinton and Dr. Charles H. Taylor have been promoted to assistant professorships of history.

Professor Wallace Notestein, of Cornell University, has accepted the position of a professor of history in Yale University, to begin work there next October.

Professor Walter W. Hyde, professor of ancient history in the University of Pennsylvania, has leave of absence for the spring semester of 1928. He will utilize it to study ancient history, for the most part in Syria, Iraq, Asia Minor, and Greece.

Professor Frederick B. Artz, of Oberlin College, has leave of absence for the coming academic year and a fellowship from the Social Science Research Council, to be devoted to work on a book on the social and economic history of France under the Bourbon Restoration, 1815-1830; he expects to spend the first semester in the library of Harvard University and the second in Paris.

Professor Harlow Lindley, librarian and head of the department of history in Earlham College for more than a score of years, resigned from that college in January, to take up on February 1 the duties of librarian of the President Hayes Memorial Historical Library and Museum at Fremont, Ohio.

In the University of Illinois Miss Louise B. Dunbar has been made an assistant professor.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted in addition to those mentioned in our last number: Professor A. C. Wilgus of the University of South Carolina will teach in the University of Maine; Professor K. L. Trever of Illinois Wesleyan University in the Illinois State Normal College; Professor L. B. Schmidt of the Iowa College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts in the University of Alabama; Professors J. L. Conger of Knox College, J. C. Malin of the University of Kansas, and J. H. St. John of Miami University in the University of Iowa during the first term, and Professor J. E. Pomfret of Princeton University during the second term; Professor Carl Becker of Cornell University will give courses in Leland Stanford University; and Professor A. A. Trever of Lawrence College in the University of Southern California.

Professor Thomas F. Tout of the University of Manchester spends the present spring and early summer in the United States and Canada, lecturing especially at Cornell University.

## GENERAL

General review: Paul Van Tieghem, *Principaux Ouvrages d'Histoire Littéraire et Comparée* [1926-1927] (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLIV.).

The Committee on Organization of the Sixth International Historical Congress has distributed a second circular of information, which contains the final list of sections and a preliminary list of about 100 papers that have thus far been announced. The circular is accompanied by a leaflet of information relating to accommodations in Oslo during the Congress, and by an illustrated pamphlet in English, containing much practical information with respect to travel to Oslo (routes, fares, time required for journey, etc.), and to proposed post-Congress excursions in Norway.

These circulars have now been sent to all American scholars who have informed the American Committee of their intention or hope of attending the Congress. It is important that all who have any expectation of going to Oslo should receive these circulars at the earliest moment, and they will be supplied on application to the chairman of the American Committee, Mr. Waldo G. Leland, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. All who expect to attend the Congress are reminded that the Organization Committee should be notified of their intention by May 15, and that their membership fee should be paid at the same time. The membership fee is 20 Norwegian crowns (\$5.50), and there is an associate membership fee of 11 crowns (\$3.00), applicable to relatives of members who may accompany them.

The titles of proposed communications should be submitted to the American Committee at once, and brief abstracts must be in the hands of the American Committee by April 15, in order to assure their being included in the pre-Congress publication of abstracts.

The opening session of the Congress will be held on Tuesday morning, August 14, and the Congress will close at noon on Saturday, August 18. Post-Congress excursions are being organized, and members are especially invited to visit Copenhagen and Stockholm before or after the Congress.

It is understood that Norwegian consuls have been instructed to affix a visé free of charge to United States passports when accompanied by the holder's Congress membership card. No visé, however, is required for American citizens born in the Scandinavian countries of Scandinavian parents.

The principal routes to Oslo by direct steamer are from Newcastle, Hamburg, Antwerp, and Rotterdam. Steamers leave all these ports on Saturday, August 11. The rail or steamship fare ranges from \$27 from Hamburg to \$48 from London. Those who expect to leave from British points are requested to communicate with Mr. Guy Parsloe, secretary of the Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London W. C. Those who desire to travel to the Congress in company with their French and

Belgian colleagues may communicate with Monsieur M. Lhéritier, Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, 2, rue du Montpensier, Paris. Steamers from New York are those of the Norwegian-American Line (22 Whitehall Street, New York) to Bergen and Oslo; of the Swedish-American Line (21 State Street, New York) to Gothenburg; and of the Scandinavian-American Line (27 Whitehall Street, New York) to Oslo and Copenhagen.

All communications to the Organization Committee with respect to membership, lodgings, travel, etc., should be addressed to "Historiker Kongressen 1928, Drammensveien 78, Oslo, Norway". Drafts and money orders should be to the order of "Historiker Kongressen 1928".

Arrangements for travel in Norway can be made through Bennett's Travel Bureau, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, or Norwegian State Railways Travel Bureau, 342 Madison Avenue, New York.

The twenty-first annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held in Des Moines, Ia., April 26-28.

Among the fellowships for study in Europe during the coming year, awarded by the trustees of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the following are to be noted as awarded for research in historical fields: To Donald G. Barnes (Oregon) for a life of Henry Pelham; to Theodore C. Blegen (Minnesota) toward a history of Norwegian immigration to the United States; to Harry Caplan (Cornell), the history of medieval theories of rhetoric; to E. M. Carroll (Duke), influence of public opinion upon the foreign policy of the third French Republic; L. R. Gottschalk (Chicago), influence of Lafayette; Albert Hyma (Michigan), youth of Erasmus; Charles E. Kany (California), life in Madrid during the second half of the eighteenth century; R. H. Pfeiffer (Boston University), archaeological investigations in northern Mesopotamia; Rodney P. Robinson (Cincinnati), *Palaeographia Iberica*; Rachel L. Sargent (North Central College, Illinois), studies in the social and economic life of ancient Greece; R. M. Smith (Wesleyan), historical and legal literature of ancient Ireland; Antonio G. Solalinde (Wisconsin), manuscripts of Alfonso X.; Carl Stephenson (Wisconsin), studies in municipal history.

The January number of the *Historical Outlook* has an article by Professor H. W. Schneider on Phases of Fascism, one by Professor J. C. Malin on United States Foreign Policy since the World War (concluded in the February number), and one by Professor H. J. Carman, entitled History, Old Style and New. The February number contains an account of the Forty-second Meeting of the American Historical Association, by Professor R. F. Nichols, and an article by Professor D. C. Knowlton entitled the New History and the Photoplay. The March number has an article on Revision of World War History, by Robert C. Binkley of New York University.

The January number of *History* contains papers by E. W. Adams on the Nature of Historical Repetition, by Anthony Steel on Some Aspects of English Finance in the Fourteenth Century, and by J. A. Williamson on Books on Drake. To this journal's series of "historical revisions" Sir Richard Lodge contributes a discussion of the Spanish Succession.

A new quarterly magazine is to be established at Harvard University under the title of the *Journal of Economic and Business History* and the editorship of Professors E. F. Gay and N. S. B. Gras, assisted by an advisory board of American and European scholars. The magazine is being sponsored jointly by the Harvard School of Business Administration and the Business Historical Society. In its scope it will embrace social as well as economic and business history. The first number will appear in September next.

The January *Bulletin* of the Business Historical Society has brief articles on Daniel Defoe as a Journalist, and on the Papers of Israel Thorndike, merchant of Boston, possessed by the society.

Of especial interest in the January *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library is a paper on block-books and the like Stepping-Stones to the Art of Typography, by the librarian, Dr. Henry Guppy, and a translation by Dr. Alphonse Mingana, and facsimile of the Syriac manuscript, of an official apology of Christianity by the Nestorian patriarch Timothy I., delivered in 781 or 782 in a theological discussion with Mahdī the Abbassid caliph.

In the *Catholic Historical Review* for January Mr. William S. Merrill of the Newberry Library reviews the Catholic Contribution to the History of the Norse Discovery of America, and Rev. Francis S. Betten, S. J., discusses the Council of Whitby, 664 A. D. The April number contains the following papers read at the annual meeting held in Washington: the American Judiciary and Religious Equality, by Mr. Clarence E. Martin, president of the association; the Higher Education of the Catholic Clergy, by Bishop Thomas J. Shahan; the Church and Scholasticism in their Historical Relations, by Monsignor Edward A. Pace; the Historical Attitude of the Church towards Nationalism, by Rev. John J. Burke; the Church's Social Work through the Ages, by Rev. Joseph C. Husslein; the Attitude of the Popes toward Free Speech, by Rev. John A. Ryan; the Origin of Sound Democratic Principles in Catholic Tradition, by Rev. M. F. X. Millar; Historic Phases of the Relations between Church and State, by Hon. William F. Sands; and Contributions of the Papacy to International Peace, by Rev. John K. Cartwright.

The January number of the *Journal of Negro History* has an interesting paper on the Rise of the Negro Magazine, by Charles S. Johnson, an account of Henry H. Garnet, agitator and preacher, mostly based on J. M. Smith's memorial discourse, and a history of the Slave in Early New York (to 1741) by Justice William R. Riddell of Ontario. The

documents are petitions for manumission presented to the Virginia legislature between 1810 and 1820, and illustrating a dozen lives.

The eighth volume of the second series of the *Papers of the American Society of Church History* (New York, Putnam, pp. lxxv, 300) contains the minutes and reports of the society and its council for the years 1923 to 1927; the addresses of three successive presidents, respectively concerning Early Christian Sarcophagi, the Formal Dialectical Rationalism of Calvin, and the Acceptance of Christianity by the Roman Emperors. There is a long paper on religious and moral conditions among the Canadian (Protestant) Pioneers, by Professor John T. McNeill of Knox College, Toronto; a discussion of Luther's attitude and relation to intellectual and literary culture, by Professor John A. Faulkner of Drew Theological Seminary; a history of Protestantism in the Ukraine, by Rev. Basil Kusiw, of Bloomfield Theological Seminary; a discourse on the present status of studies in Slavic church history, by Dr. Matthew Spinka, of the Chicago Theological Seminary, secretary of the society; and an examination, by Professor David S. Schaff, of Union Theological Seminary, of the doctrine that Jefferson derived, or might have derived, the principles of the Declaration of Independence from the writings of Cardinal Bellarmine.

In the "Borzoi Historical Series" Mr. A. A. Knopf publishes three volumes: *A History of Europe, 1500-1815*, by Professor James E. Gillespie, *A History of the Far East in Modern Times*, by Professor Harold Vinacke, and *A History of Canada*, by Professor Carl Wittke.

For the use of college classes Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt begins the editing of a series of inexpensive pamphlets, "Landmarks in History", which are intended each to contain the chief sources for the study of an historical problem of moderate compass, so composed as both to illustrate the events and to show students the nature of the materials and the methods to be used. Those first appearing relate to *The Constitution in the Early French Revolution, June-September, 1789*, by Professor G. G. Andrews, and *Parliamentary Reform in England, 1830-1832*, by the same.

Lectures on economic history and its sociological interpretation, delivered by the late Professor Max Weber of Heidelberg, are presented in skillful translation, in a volume of great value and importance, *General Economic History* (New York, Adelphi Company, 1927, pp. xviii, 401). The same company will also publish translations of three books of Professor Henri Sée, of the University of Rennes: his *Modern Capitalism, its Origins and Evolution*, his *Economic Interpretation of History*, and his *Agrarian History of Europe*, and will be the American publishers of the reissue of Tooke and Newmarch's *History of Prices* mentioned in our last number.



Professors James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard have brought out a revised and enlarged edition of their *Outlines of European History* (Ginn).

*The Foundations of Modern Civilization* (pp. 257), by Harrison C. Thomas and William A. Hamm, is a useful survey of the subject, giving an "outline of man's progress through the centuries, dwelling upon the origin and development of those ideas, habits, customs, and institutions, which will help us to understand the world in which we live today", with an introductory chapter on the purpose and scope of history.

Those interested in the mental processes which have strewn the historian's fairway with so many hazards will read with profit the *Genesi, Svolgimento, e Tramonto delle Leggende Storiche Critiche*, by the erudite Mgr. Lanzoni (Rome, Typ. Poliglotta, pp. 344).

Few men are better fitted than Henri Sée to consider the origins and value of the Marxian theory of history, which has so profoundly influenced historiography; he does so in *Matérialisme Historique et Interprétation Historique de l'Histoire*, vol. XXVI. in *Études Économiques et Sociales* (Paris, Giard, 1927, pp. 136).

The Harvard University Press has brought out, as *Harvard Economic Studies*, no. 31, *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History*, by Mandell M. Bober.

The Columbia University Press has published *A General View of European Legal History, and other Papers*, by the late Professor Munroe Smith.

*Historians of Anglo-American Law* (Columbia University Press) consists of the lectures delivered by Professor William S. Holdsworth under the James S. Carpentier Foundation at Columbia University.

A useful survey of one phase of economic history has been made by Gustave Legaret in his *Histoire du Développement du Commerce depuis la Chute de l'Empire Romain jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Belin, 1928, pp. 480).

In a volume entitled *Marching Men: the Story of War*, Stanton A. Coblenz has endeavored to set forth the methods, modes, and motives of war (New York, Unicorn Press).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Kurt K. Eberlein, *Das Problem der Generation* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXVII. 2); R. G. Collingwood, *Oswald Spengler and the Theory of Historical Cycles*, I., II. (Antiquity, September, December); William Hale Thompson, Rupert Hughes, A. B. Hart, Dana C. Munro, Elbridge Colby, Lyon G. Tyler, *History Teaching in Schools: a Symposium* (Current History, February).

## ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: Auguste Jardé, *Les Méthodes de l'Histoire Ancienne, à propos de Livres Récents* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLIV.); G. Contenau, *L'Assyriologie et les Études Hittites depuis 1922* (Revue Historique, November).

The second number of the *Vorgeschichtliches Jahrbuch* put forth by the Gesellschaft für Vorgeschichtliche Forschung, containing the bibliography for the year 1925 (Berlin, de Gruyter, pp. 344), is extended to more than twice the size of its predecessor by completer data and by some considerable widening of scope. It bids fair to be henceforth indispensable to all students of prehistoric man.

Professor G. Baldwin Brown of Oriel College, Oxford, in *The Art of the Cave Dweller* (London, Murray), presents a general study of the earliest artistic activities of man.

*Le Travail dans la Préhistoire*, by Professor Georges Renard of the Collège de France, is the latest number in his *Histoire Universelle du Travail* (Paris, Alcan, 1927, pp. 279).

In the earlier editions of Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* there was a treatise on *Zeitrechnung der Griechen und Römer* by G. F. Unger. In the new edition of the *Handbuch* this is replaced by a new work, of different scope, *Grundriss der Antiken Zeitrechnung*, by Professor Wilhelm Kubitschek of Vienna (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1928, pp. ix, 241), in which all aspects of ancient chronology, and not Greek and Roman alone, are treated authoritatively, with great care, and with full reference to all recent monographic literature.

Friedrich Bilabel and A. Grohmann are writing a *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Aegyptens vom 16. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis auf die Neuzeit*. Vol. I., by F. Bilabel, has appeared, taking the reader from the sixteenth to the eleventh centuries B. C. (Heidelberg, Winter, 1927, pp. 475).

Messrs. Chatto and Windus (London) have published, as the third volume in the history of Babylonia planned by the late Professor W. L. King, a volume on *The Early History of Assyria*, by Sidney Smith of the department of Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum.

*Prehistoric Aigina: a History of the Island in the Bronze Age* (Paris, Champion; University of Cincinnati, pp. x, 121), by James Penrose Harland, rests on prolonged personal exploration of the island and its archaeological remains, as well as on whatever literary and traditional evidence industry and learning could bring together. The author's conclusions are, briefly, that the bronze age in Aigina is marked by three periods of invasion and occupancy, corresponding to the Early, Middle, and Late Helladic periods generally recognized in Greek archaeology: a period of "Aigaians", of Anatolian stock, not Indo-European in speech,

a period of Minyans of Aiolic or "Arkadian" dialect, and a period (say 1400-1100 B. C.) of Achaïans with a Proto-Doric dialect.

A very complete history of Athens at the time of the Peloponnesian War, carefully documented though intended for the general public, has been compiled by the Italian scholar Ferbabino under the title *L'Impero Ateniese* (Turin, Bocca, 1927, pp. 470).

Dr. Randall MacIver follows his volume of three years ago on *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* by an allied volume, very handsomely produced and illustrated, on *The Iron Age in Italy* (Oxford, Clarendon Press), in which he studies those aspects of the early civilization of Italy which are neither Villanovan nor Etruscan. He has also supplied a brief but excellent introduction to the whole subject in a small book on *The Etruscans* (Clarendon Press, pp. 152).

Anyone who loves the combination of great learning with an attractive style will be delighted with the collection of studies which M. René Cagnat has brought together under the title *En Pays Romain* (Paris, E. de Boccard, pp. 286). Here are studies on Alesia, on three Gallo-Roman cities (Nemausus, Vienna, Lugdunum), on the excavation of Herculaneum, on Roman dinners, on the Vestals, on Egyptian private life in the Roman period, on the remains of Carthage and the ruins of Thugga and Thubursicum and Cuicul, Roman cities in Africa, and on Tripolitania—all attractively written, yet full of good knowledge.

Mr. Harold Mattingly's *Roman Coins* (London, Methuen) runs from the earliest times to the fall of the Western Empire, and is an authoritative and invaluable handbook, with excellent plates.

Professor George La Piana's long and important article in the *Harvard Theological Review* for last October, on *Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire*, is made available by the Harvard University Press as a bound volume (pp. 183-403), and richly deserves the attention both of the student of Roman society and of the student of early Christianity at Rome, by its full and clear exposition of what is now known concerning the national, professional, and funerary organizations of foreigners in Rome, and the relations of these to religious organization, especially in the case of the Jews.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Raymond Lenoir, *L'Ame Primitive* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, XLIV.); Édouard Cuq, *Les Contrats de Kerkouk au Musée Britannique et au Musée de l'Irak*, concl. (*Journal des Savants*, November); Hermann Junker, *Von der Aegyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches* (*Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LXIII. 1); Albrecht Alt, *Die Asiatischen Gefährzonen in den Aechtungstexten der II. Dynastie* (*ibid*); Commandants Carlini and Vivielle, *La Navigation dans l'Égypte Antique* (*Journal des Savants*, November); M. N. Tod, *The Progress of Greek Epigraphy, 1925-1926* (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLVII. 2); A. M. Woodward, *Archaeology*

in Greece, 1926-1927 (*ibid.*); Ch. Picard, *Le Sanctuaire d'Olympe*, II., concl. (Journal des Savants, November, December); Col. J. F. C. Fuller, *A Greater than Scipio Africanus?* [Agathocles] (Army Quarterly, January); Stéphane Gsell, *Les Premiers Temps de la Carthage Romaine* (Revue Historique, November).

### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Dr. J. Lortz's *Tertullian als Apologet*, of which the first volume (Münster, Aschendorff, pp. xxiv, 400) opens a series of *Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie*, is so treated as to present a general view of the whole of Christian apologetics in the second century.

The political and social aspect of St. Augustine's teaching forms the subject of an inquiry by P. von Sokolowski, *Der Heilige Augustin und die Christliche Zivilisation* (Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, IV. 3, Halle, Niemeyer, 1927, pp. 107-154).

The Vienna Academy's commission for publishing the Latin Fathers is about to issue, or has just issued, its vol. LXVI., containing the Pseudo-Hegesippus, edited by Professor V. Ussani of Rome. Next will be published the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and the *Opuscula Sacra* of Boethius, edited by Professors W. Weinberger of Brünn and E. K. Rand of Harvard.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Solomon Zeitlin, *The Christ Passage in Josephus* (Jewish Quarterly Review, XVIII. 3).

### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The January number of *Speculum*, besides various palaeographical and literary contributions, has an article on Geoffrey of Monmouth and Arthurian Origins by Roger S. Loomis, and one on Master Henry of Avranches as an International Poet by Josiah C. Russell.

Colorado College has published, in a pamphlet, *Three Short Studies in Mediaeval Intellectual History*, by Dr. Josiah C. Russell, assistant professor of history. All relate to the period 1191-1237, their subjects being An Ephemeral University at Angers, Literature at Croyland Abbey under Henry Longchamp, and the English Court as an Intellectual Centre.

A painstaking monograph, based on a wealth of material, has been written by Heinrich Mitteis on *Politische Prozesse des Früheren Mittelalters in Deutschland und Frankreich* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1927, pp. 124).

An important addition to Franciscan literature, inspired by the recent commemoration of the seventh centenary, is a group of studies entitled *Saint François d'Assise, son Oeuvre, son Influence, 1226-1926* (Paris, Droz, 1927, pp. 325). Among the more notable are those by Alexandre Masseron, "Les Sources de la Vie de Saint François"; Georges Goyau,

"Les Étranges Destinées du Livre des Conformités"; Édouard Jordan, "Le Premier Siècle Franciscain"; Étienne Gilson, "La Philosophie Franciscaine"; D. Tardi, "La Poésie Franciscaine de Langue Latine"; Leone Bracaloni, "Saint François et l'Art"; Louis Bréhier, "Missions Franciscaines au Moyen-Age". The editors are Henri Lemaître and A. Masseron.

A solid treatise on *Les Commentaires de Jean Duns Scot sur les Quatre Livres des Sentences* opens the series of monographs entitled *Bibliothèque de la Revue de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Louvain, the *Revue*, 1927, pp. xvi, 369). Prepared by Father Charles Balić, after careful study of the manuscripts, it attempts to distinguish what was actually written by Duns Scotus (*Ordinatio*) from what was written out by others as reports of his teaching (*Additiones*, *Reportata*), and so to prepare the way for a critical edition of his commentary.

To the series of *Sussidi per la Consultazione dell' Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, Father Bruno Katterbach has added a volume of *Specimina Supplicationum ex Registris Vaticanis*, containing fifty phototype plates presenting fifty-seven *supplicationes*, 1345-1823, with an introduction, transcriptions, and notes.

Mgr. Martin Grabmann's *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben; Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik* (Munich, Max Hueber, pp. xi, 585) embraces many of his valuable articles already published, and also, as its introductory portion, a fresh general view of the literature and methods of the subject. In the same field are to be noted Father G. Théry's critical edition of the trial of Meister Eckart, in the *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age*, I. 129-269, and Dr. Nikolaus Heller's edition, with introduction and notes, of *Des Mystikers Heinrich Seuse [Suso] O. Pr. Deutsche Schriften* (Regensburg, Manz, pp. lxxiii, 478).

In a dissertation for the degree of S.T.D. at the Catholic University of America, published by the university, Rev. George C. Powers treats of *Nationalism at the Council of Constance* (pp. 208), elaborating, along with the general history of the Council, the thought that the rising spirit of nationalism, expressed in the method of voting by nations and otherwise, brought the Council into failure.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Louis Bréhier, *Les Invasions Barbares, Ve-XI<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (*Journal des Savants*, December); Heinz Zatschek, *Die Benutzung der Formulae Marculfi und anderer Formularsammlungen* (*Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, XLII. 3); M. Postan, *Credit in Medieval Trade* (*Economic History Review*, January); Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalter und Küchenlatein* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXVII. 2); James B. Ranck, *The Evolution of Monasticism: a Study in the Development during the Middle Ages of a Social Gospel in an Originally Non-social Institution* (Methodist

Quarterly Review, January); A. Kleinclausz, *La Légende du Protectorat de Charlemagne sur la Terre Sainte* (Syria, 1926, 2); Father Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les Lettres d'Indulgence Collectives*, II. (Analecta Bollandiana, XLV. 3 and 4).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Professor N. Iorga of Bucharest has brought to an end his *Essai de Synthèse de l'Histoire de l'Humanité* with vol. III., *Époque Moderne* (Paris, Gamber, 1928, pp. 528), and vol. IV., *Époque Contemporaine* (*ibid.*, pp. 504).

A translation into English of the celebrated *Malleus Maleficarum*, prepared by the Rev. Montague Summers, is announced for publication in London by John Rodker.

Victor von Klarwill, editor of the *Fugger News-Letters*, has selected from original documents in the state archives of Vienna a collection of hitherto unpublished matter, presented in English translation, under the title *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners* (London, John Lane). It embraces a collection of letters relating to the proposed marriage between Elizabeth and the Archduke Charles of Austria, an account by a German nobleman of a visit to England in 1585, and the report of a special envoy sent by the Duke of Württemberg to the English court to solicit for his master the Order of the Garter.

The twelfth volume of Freiherr Ludwig von Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste* has been published (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1927) covering the brief pontificate of Leo XI. and the sixteen years (1605-1621) of Paul V. The thirteenth volume is to appear in the autumn.

Professor Spenser Wilkinson's *The Defence of Piedmont, 1742-1748* (Clarendon Press, 1927, pp. xi, 343), owes its origin to the desire to expound to English readers the origins of Napoleon's generalship as exhibited in his Italian campaigns. This portion of the War of the Austrian Succession is treated with full exposition of military detail, but also with competent description of the intricate political environment.

Volume IV. of Grace Thompson's translation of the work of Dr. Oskar Fischel and Max von Boehn, *Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century as represented in the Pictures and Engravings of the Time*, has come from the press (Dutton).

The unhappy failure of the Anglo-German negotiations in 1901, which might have averted the World War, forms the starting-point for a thorough study of the *Geschichte des Deutsch-Englischen Bündnis-problems, 1890-1901*, by the distinguished scholar Friedrich Meinecke (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1927, pp. 268).

The *Deutscher Geschichtskalender* for 1924, 40. Jahrgang, consists of four volumes (Leipzig, Felix Meiner, 1927, pp. 401, 256, 262, 259), two of them for "Inland", two of them for "Ausland" matters, the



former presenting in methodical order day-by-day records of transactions of government and people in the Reich and its subdivisions, the latter a similar record of events in all the other countries of the world.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Georges Hardy, *Les Relations de la France et du Maroc sous Louis XIV.* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, XV. 4); G. N. Clark, *War Trade and Trade War, 1701-1713* (Economic History Review, January); W. S. Carpenter, *The Separation of Powers in the Eighteenth Century* (American Political Science Review, February); Maj.-Gen. Sir W. D. Bird, *The Waterloo Campaign: Wellington's Point of View* (Army Quarterly, January); René Paquel, *Les Responsabilités de la Bataille de Navarin, 20 Octobre 1827* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July-September); A. L. Dunham, *The Development of the Cotton Industry in France and the Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce of 1860* (Economic History Review, January); H. D. Meisner, *England, Frankreich, und die Deutsche Einigung* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); Victor A. Wroblewski, *Murajews Denkschrift aus dem Jahre 1900 und die Englisch-Russische Konvention von 1907* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, December); Eduard von Steinitz, *Iswolski und die Besprechungen in Buchlau* (*ibid.*); Ange Morre, *La Démocratie Européenne au XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, XL.-XLV. (Nouvelle Revue, November 15-February 1); David H. Miller, *The Origin of the Mandate System* (Foreign Affairs, January); M. W. Graham, jr., *A Decade of Sino-Russian Diplomacy* (American Political Science Review, February).

#### THE WORLD WAR

To the *Official History of the World War* put forth under the auspices of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence the latest addition is the third, and concluding, volume of Mr. Archibald Hurd's *The Merchant Navy* (London, Murray). A further volume, and one of great interest, in the same series, is a volume on *Military Operations: Egypt and Palestine*, compiled by Lieut.-Gen. Sir George MacMunn and Capt. Cyril Falls, and running from the outbreak of war with Germany to the month of June, 1917. It is accompanied by a case of maps.

The twelfth volume of *La Grande Guerre sur le Front Occidental* by General Palat (Pierre Lehautcourt), entitled *L'Année d'Angoisse 1917* (Paris, Berger-Levrault), casts much light on the proceedings of General Nivelle, the supersession of General Lyautey as war minister by M. Painlevé, and the mutinies in the French army, as well as on military operations better understood.

For the Carnegie Endowment's *Economic and Social History of the World War*, French series, Henri Cangardel has written *La Marine Marchande Française et la Guerre* (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1928, pp. xii, 200), P. Courtenault, *La Vie Économique à Bordeaux pendant la Guerre* (*ibid.*, 1927, pp. 99), P. Pinot, *Le Contrôle de Ravitaillement de la Population Civile* (*ibid.*, pp. 317), M. Augé-Laribé, *L'Agriculture*

*pendant la Guerre* (*ibid.*, pp. 331); English series, Hill, Warner, *et al.*, *War and Insurance* (Oxford, 1927, pp. 284); Austrian series, F. Hanusch, *Die Regelung der Arbeitsverhältnisse im Kriege* (Vienna, 1927, pp. 440).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Wickham Steed, *Hommes d'État et Diplomates pendant la Guerre*, concl. (*Revue de Paris*, November 15); Paul Herre, *Kriegsschuldforschung und Italienische Rückständigkeit* (*Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, December); C. J. Diamandy, *La Grande Guerre vue du Versant Oriental*, I, II. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 15, January 1); Paul N. Miljukov, *The World War and Slavonic Policy* (*Slavonic Review*, December).

#### GREAT BRITAIN

General reviews: Ch. Bémont, *Histoire de Grande Bretagne* (*Revue Historique*, November); F. Cabrol, *Courrier Anglais; Angleterre et Amérique* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); E. A. Kosminsky, *Russian Work on English Economic History* (*Economic History Review*, January).

The University of London Press has brought out a third edition of Mr. Reginald A. Rye's very useful volume (second ed. 1910), *The Student's Guide to the Libraries of London, with an Account of the most important Archives and other Aids to Study*.

*Romans, Kelts, and Saxons in Ancient Britain: an Investigation into Two Dark Centuries (400-600) of English History*, by Professor R. E. Zachrisson of Upsala (Upsala, Almquist and Wiksells, pp. 100), subjects the views of the principal previous authorities to a critical examination and adds important original contributions, based to a considerable extent on the evidence of place-names, along with archaeological and other evidences.

There are to be found in Norfolk and Suffolk a remarkably full series of objects illustrating all stages in human progress from the earliest and most primitive flint implements to those of Roman and Anglo-Saxon times. In *The Antiquity of Man in East Anglia* (Cambridge University Press; New York, Macmillan, pp. xiv, 172), Mr. J. Reid Moir, former president of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, presents a clear illustrated account of these remains and of their relations to discoveries in larger areas.

Historical students as well as genealogists will be greatly aided by *A Catalogue of British Family Histories* (London, Murray), both published and unpublished, remarkably complete, compiled by T. R. Thomson.

Canon R. M. Woolley of Lincoln has prepared, chiefly of course from the *Magna Vita* of Adam of Eynsham, a *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln* (London, S. P. C. K., pp. 124).

The University of Pennsylvania has published in two volumes a translation by Professor R. B. Burke of the *Opus Majus* of Roger Bacon (pp. xiii, 858), never before translated into English.

*An Historical Introduction to the Land Law*, by Professor W. S. Holdsworth, taking account of the present legal position caused by recent legislation, has been published by the Oxford University Press.

The Royal Historical Society has in preparation the third volume of *John of Gaunt's Register, 1372-1376*, and a fifth volume of its series of *British Diplomatic Instructions*, relating to missions to Sweden in 1728-1789.

Miss Geraldine E. Hodgson, editor of the minor works of Richard Rolle, has further expounded his position and doctrine in a volume entitled *The Sanity of Mysticism: a Study of Richard Rolle* (London, Faith Press, pp. vii, 277), adding in an appendix the text of some fragments of Richard and of allied contemporaries.

Among the pamphlets lately published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press, a notable place belongs to an elaborate and thoughtful study of *The Saga and the Myth of Sir Thomas More*, by Professor R. W. Chambers, being the society's Literary History Lecture. The annual Henriette Hertz Lecture on a Master Mind is by Dr. C. D. Broad of Cambridge, on Sir Isaac Newton. There are also commemorations of Lord Bryce by H. A. L. Fisher, and of C. L. Kingsford by A. G. Little.

*The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, 1550-1604* (London, Murray), by B. M. Ward, is a biography of Edward de Vere, soldier, statesman, and courtier of Queen Elizabeth.

A reprint of Thomas Mun's *English Treasure by Forraign Trade*, from the edition of 1664, has been published by Basil Blackwell of Oxford for the Economic History Society.

R. B. Mowat has produced *A Short History of Great Britain since 1714*, which the Oxford University Press has published.

Under the direction of the Committee of Lloyd's *A History of Lloyd's from the founding of Lloyd's Coffee House to the Present Day* has been prepared by Charles Wright, chairman of Lloyd's Brokers' Association, and C. Ernest Fayle, author of the volumes on *Seaborne Trade* in the British official history of the World War. The book will be published by Messrs. Macmillan and Company.

A series of trials illustrating old sea-life is presented in *Naval History in the Law Courts*, by William Senior of the Middle Temple.

The next volume in Messrs. Constable's series of *Makers of the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Professor Basil Williams, will be devoted to a study of Sir Robert Peel by Miss A. A. W. Ramsay.

Mr. Philip Guedalla is planning a series of volumes to be issued in London by Messrs. Victor Gollancz, under the general title *The Palmerston Papers*, made up by selection from the unpublished documentary ma-

terial left by that statesman; the first volume will be entitled *Gladstone and Palmerston*.

*The Transition from Aristocracy, 1832-1867*, by O. F. Christie, is a study of the significance and consequences of the English reform bill of 1832 (Putnam).

The third volume of the second series of *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, edited by George E. Buckle, and extending through the important years 1879-1885, has been published in London by John Murray and in New York by Longmans.

Messrs. Longmans have published *Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala: a Memoir*, by H. D. Napier.

The firm of Ernest Benn in London has published the first volume (of three) of *The Life of Lord Curzon* by the Earl of Ronaldshay, and publishes the second and third volumes in April and May.

The Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher has published a short *Memoir of Paul Vinogradoff* (Oxford University Press, pp. 74).

The History of Exeter Research Group, in pursuance of its policy of making gradual preparations toward a history of its city, brings out a monograph of 92 pages on *The Franciscans and Dominicans of Exeter* (Exeter, A. Wheaton and Co.) in which Mr. A. G. Little and Miss R. C. Easterling present all that they can learn of the history of the friars in Exeter, with many interesting documents and notes.

An elaborate bibliography of Welsh history has been undertaken under the auspices of the Guild of Graduates of the University of Wales. It is hoped that it will be completed this autumn.

Mr. John Ballinger, librarian of the National Library of Wales at Aberystwith, has printed a text edition of *The History of the Gwydir Family and Memoirs*, written by Sir John Wynn of Gwydir (d. 1627). His narrative, which lights up North Welsh history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, has already been published, in 1770, 1781, 1827, and 1878, but the present, though merely a text edition, without notes, is the first one derived from the original autograph manuscript.

The December *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, published by the University of Wales, contains a detailed article on the Enclosure Movement in North Wales, by A. H. Dodd.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for January presents an article by Miss Henrietta Tayler on the Lieutenant-Governor of the Tower in 1745-1747 (Lieut.-Gen. Adam Williamson), and one by George P. Inch on the *Carolina Merchant* and her arrival at Stuart's Town, S. C., in 1685.

*A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, by M. V. Hay, is concerned with the early history of Christianity in Scotland.

British government publications: *Acts of the Privy Council*, vols. XXXIV., XXXV., 1615-1616, 1616-1617.

Other documentary publications: *The Great Roll of the Pipe for 5 Richard I.*, Michaelmas, 1193, ed. Mrs. Doris M. Stenton (Pipe Roll Society); *The Great Roll of the Pipe for 14 Henry III.*, Michaelmas, 1230, ed. Chalfant Robinson (Pipe Roll Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Oscar A. Marti, *Popular Protest and Revolt against Papal Finance in England from 1226 to 1258* (Princeton Theological Review, October); E. B. Graves, *Circumspecte Agatis* (English Historical Review, January); Hilary Jenkinson and Mabel H. Mills, *Rolls from a Sheriff's Office of the Fourteenth Century* (*ibid.*); Marjory Hollings, *Thomas Barret: a Study of the Secret History of the Interregnum* (*ibid.*); Capt. E. W. Sheppard, *The First Duke of Wellington* (Army Quarterly, January); H. J. Laski, *The Personnel of the English Cabinet, 1801-1924* (American Political Science Review, February); Capt. B. H. Liddell Hart, *Allenby of Megiddo: a Reputation Ten Years After* (Atlantic Monthly, February).

#### IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 753; for India, see p. 738.)

*The Archaeology of Ireland*, by Professor R. A. S. Macalister of the National University of Ireland (London, Methuen), summarizes authoritatively the present position of Irish archaeological knowledge, with especial attention to the earlier periods.

*A History of Railways in Ireland* by J. C. Conroy is brought out in New York by Longmans.

The first edition of Professor Arthur B. Keith's *Responsible Government in the Dominions* was published in 1912. A second edition is now brought out in two volumes (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928, pp. lxiv, 1334). Of this extraordinarily complete and able book the first chapter, on the origin and development of responsible government, is of only fifty pages, but historical statements are so frequently interspersed throughout its chapters descriptive of present constitutional and administrative systems that the two volumes should not fail to be brought to the attention of scholars interested in the history of the present British Commonwealth of Nations.

*The Voyage of the Caroline* (Longmans, pp. xiv, 308) is the narrative of a voyage from England to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) and Java in 1827-1828, written as a diary by Rosalie Hare, the young wife of Captain John Hare of Ipswich, England, an intelligent and observing young woman. Mrs. C. B. Marriott, who edits the narrative, has added chapters on the early history of Northern Tasmania, Java, Mauritius, and St. Helena.

A Tasmanian writer, R. W. Giblin, in *The Early History of Tasmania* (London, Methuen), traces the development of European knowledge con-

cerning the island from its discovery by Tasman to 1803 and 1804, when the first settlements were made.

### FRANCE

The firm of Henri Didier, 4 rue de la Sorbonne, Paris, announces that since October 1, 1927, it has become the depositary of all the inventories and other publications of the French Archives Nationales.

Following the clue given by Fustel de Coulanges, that Roman institutions survived the Germanic conquest, Antoine Hajje in his *Histoire de la Propriété Seigneuriale en France; les Origines Romaines*, vol. I., *La Justice Privée dans les Domaines des Empereurs* (Paris, Boccard, 1927, pp. xii, 177) seeks to prove that feudal justice originated, not in the grant of immunities, but in judicial powers inherited by the Caesars from the former rulers of Egypt, extended thence to other provinces like Gaul, and there exercised by imperial intendants.

The most recent addition to the great *Histoire de la Nation Française*, edited by Gabriel Hanotaux, is the *Histoire Militaire et Navale*, part II., in which the chapters dealing with the period of the Revolution up to the Directory are treated by General Mangin, those from Napoleon to the War of 1914 by Marshal Franchet d'Esperey, while the War of 1914 is handled by M. Hanotaux himself (Paris, Plon, 1927, pp. 646).

Messrs. Maggs Brothers of London publish, in an edition of only 200 copies, at six guineas, under the title *Documents sur la Typographie et la Gravure en France au Quinzième et au Seizième Siècles*, a collection of 700 facsimile reproductions of titles, colophons, and specimen pages from the French presses of the period indicated, collected by the late A. Claudin as a companion to his *Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France*, with introduction and bibliographical letterpress by Seymour de Ricci.

Those interested in French administrative history will find value in Henri Joucla's *Le Conseil Supérieur des Colonies et ses Antécédents; Nombreux Documents et Lettres Inédits* (Paris, Éditions du Monde Moderne, 1928, pp. 380).

A monograph has been written by Georges Grosjean, author of *La Politique de Vergennes*, which was crowned by the French Academy, on *Le Sentiment National dans la Guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris, Bossard, 1927, pp. 236).

A new biographical study in the field of Revolutionary history is that of Jean-Sylvain Bailly, *Premier Maire de Paris*, by Fernand-Laurent (Paris, Boivin, 1927, pp. 460).

One of the special studies which are throwing light on the economic and legal aspects of the Revolution is *Le Rachat des Droits Féodaux dans la Gironde, 1790-1793*, by André Ferradou, professor in the University of Bordeaux law faculty (Paris, Lib. du Recueil Sirey, 1928, pp. 463).

A valuable addition to the literature of the French emigration during the Revolution is made by the *Souvenirs du Chevalier d'Hespel d'Hocron* (Paris, 1927, Éditions Pierre Roger, pp. vi, 208). The author was only fifteen in 1794 when he enlisted in Condé's army and he served three years. He then returned to France, and, strange to say, lived to tell the tale, which he wrote in 1824 after he had revisited the scenes of his youthful crusade against the "terrible" Republic. He has much to relate of the extraordinary military attitude of the noble exiles who made up Condé's forces.

The third and final volume of Émile Gabory's *La Révolution et la Vendée d'après des Documents Inédits* bears the subtitle *La Victoire des Vaincus* (Paris, Perrin, 1928).

Walter Geer's *Napoleon and his Family: the Story of a Corsican Clan* (New York, Brentano) is to consist of three volumes. The first, *Corsica to Madrid, 1769-1809*, is now published, a volume marked by much detailed knowledge. The other two, from Madrid to Moscow, and from Moscow to St. Helena, will appear later.

In these days of psychoanalytical studies, among which the personality of the first French emperor has not been overlooked, there will certainly be a place for *La Vraie Figure de Napoléon* by the well-known specialist, Édouard Driault (Paris, Morancé, 1928, pp. 340).

Messrs. Allen and Unwin (London) publish the first complete English translation, by Professor Julian Park, of the intimate contemporary account of *Napoleon in Captivity* written by Count Balmain, Russian representative at St. Helena.

A survey of the *Histoire Politique des Congrégations Religieuses Françaises, 1790-1914*, has been made by P. Rimbault (Paris, Letouzey, 1927, pp. 320).

The Columbia University Press will publish in the near future eight volumes embodying results of an important co-operative investigation of economic and social developments of France and the French people during the last decade, which has been carried out in France by a group of American scholars under the general auspices of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences and under the special direction of a committee of which Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes is chairman. The prime purpose of the investigation was to gather trustworthy information as to inflation in French public finance, its widespread effects upon various portions of French society, and the relations of those effects to French industry and labor, politics, and public opinion. The series has however been broadened to the inclusion of volumes not only on public finance and inflation, but on the development of French industry, labor, government, foreign and colonial policy, and national psychology.



The attention of all students of the history of eastern France, and indeed of many a student of France in general, should be directed to the full and admirable *Bibliographie Lorraine* published biennially by the Faculty of Letters of the University of Nancy, in which books and articles relating to all periods and all aspects of the history of Lorraine are well reviewed or described. The most recent volume, VIII. (Paris, Berger-Levrault, pp. x, 324), covers the product of the years 1924 and 1925.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Chaussade, *Ambroise Paré et Charles IX., 1561-1574* (*Revue Historique*, November); Pierre P. Viard, *La Dîme en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (*ibid.*); Alfred Rébelliau, *Bossuet et Louis XIV.*, III. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, November 15); Pierre de Nolhac, *Madame de Pompadour et la Politique*, V. (*ibid.*); Pierre de Nolhac, *Sous le Ministère de Choiseul* (*Revue de Paris*, February 1); F. L. Nussbaum, *The French Colonial Arrêt of 1784* (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, January); E. von Aster, *Geschichtsphilosophische Lehren der Französischen Revolution* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, November); J. Des-saint, *Le Dix-huit Fructidor* (*Revue de Paris*, December 1); Luigi Coletti, *Napoleone e i Suoi Antenati* (*Nuova Antologia*, November 1); Albert Mathiez, *Talon et la Police de Bonaparte; Documents Inédits* (*Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, January); Gabriel Hanotaux, *La France des Cent Trente Départements*, I.-concl. (*Revue de Paris*, December 1, 15, January 1); Princesse Mathilde, *Souvenirs des Années d'Exil*, I.-III. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 15-January 15).

#### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: N. R., *Uomini e Problemi del Risorgimento Italiano* (*Nuova Rivista Storica*, September-December).

A study of a medieval municipal charter is afforded by Giuseppe Calamari's *Lo Statuto di Pescia del 1339* (Pescia, Benedetti, 1927, pp. 148).

Two new volumes, dealing with the foreign relations of Parma in the eighteenth century, both by Henri Bédarida, professor in the French Institute of Naples, are *Parme et la France de 1748 à 1789* (Paris, Champion, 1928, pp. 645) and *Les Premiers Bourbons de Parme et l'Espagne; Inventaire Analytique des Principales Sources Diplomatiques, 1732-1802* (*ibid.*, pp. 214).

The *Memorie di un Generale della Repubblica e dell' Impero: Francesco Pignatelli, Principe di Strongoli* (Bari, Laterza, 1927, 2 vols.) have been edited by Professor Nino Cortese of the University of Messina from the manuscript of this Neapolitan and Napoleonic soldier, in the family archives of the Strongoli at Naples.

Vol. II. of Fernand Hayward's *Le Dernier Siècle de la Rome Pontificale* deals with the pontificates of Pius VII., Leo XII., Pius VIII., Gregory XVI., and Pius IX., or the years from 1814 to 1870.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Achille Norsa, *La Filosofia della Storia nel Machiavelli* (Nuova Rivista Storica, September–December); Ettore Moschino, *Carlo VIII. e Cesare Borgia in Relazione con la Camera Aquilana* (Nuova Antologia, January 1); Luigi Rava, *Il Cittadino Ugo Foscolo Redattore dei Verbali delle Sessioni Pubbliche a Venezia, 1797* (*ibid.*, December 1); Prince Sixte de Bourbon, *La Reine d'Étrurie*, I.–concl. (Revue de Paris, January 1, 15, February 1); Lodovico Frati, *La Spagna ed il Portogallo alla Fine del Seicento, secondo il Diario Inedito di un Contemporaneo Italiano* (Nuova Antologia, November 16); G. Desdevises du Dezert, *Les Institutions de l'Espagne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, I., II. (Revue Hispanique, June, August, 1927); Roland de Marès, *Les Étapes de la Dictature Espagnole* (Revue de Paris, December 1).

#### GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: G. Brodnitz, *Recent Work in German Economic History, 1900–1927* (Economic History Review, January).

Students at all interested in German history are doubtless aware of the existence of the thin volumes of *Jahresberichte der Deutschen Geschichte* which the librarian Viktor Loewe of Breslau has brought out for the product of the years 1918 to 1924, supplying economically the German gap left by the discontinuance, since the issue for 1913, of the old *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*. Now, they will be glad to know, comes a portly volume of *Jahresberichte für Deutsche Geschichte, 1925*, vol. I. of an intended series (Leipzig, K. F. Koehler, 1927, pp. xiv, 752), edited by Professors Albert Brackmann and Fritz Hartung, and treating the bibliography of German history with all the fullness with which it was treated in the old *Jahresberichte*. The plan of arrangement is somewhat different, for the titles, instead of being given at the foot of the pages, are separately listed on the first 144 pages, after which follows the comment. In both the title-section and the comment-section the same order is followed: generalities, German history in chronological order, individual aspects of German history, provincial and local history, history of Germans in non-German lands. The workmanship seems admirable. Every library giving any serious attention to European history should have the book and its successors.

The second volume of Professor Albert Brackmann's *Germania Pontificia*, in Professor Kehr's *Regesta*, now stands completed, embracing summaries of 760 documents of the Provincia Maguntinensis from Leo I. to Celestine III. (450–1197) as over against 514 made known by Jaffé. The dioceses embraced in this Mainz volume are those of Eichstädt and Augsburg and all Switzerland.

The South German archives have been plundered of a wealth of material by Ernst Bock in the preparation of his skillful account of *Die Schwäbische Bund und seine Verfassungen, 1488–1534; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Zeit der Reichsreform* (Breslau, Marcus, 1927, pp. x, 224).

The series of the *Corpus Reformationum* is to be enriched by a collection of the correspondence of Melancthon, of which the first volume, *Melancthons Briefwechsel*, I., 1510–1528, edited by Otto Clemen (Leipzig, Eger and Sievers, pp. 450), embracing 716 documents, has already been issued.

Messrs. Victor Gollancz of London announce for publication this spring a translation of *The Rise of the House of Rothschild*, by Count Corti.

The fifth and last volume of Albert von Hofmann's *Politische Geschichte der Deutschen* carries the account from the time of Frederick the Great to the post-Bismarck period (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1927, pp. 693).

As the title suggests, *Wilhelm von Humboldt und der Staat* emphasizes one aspect of this great man's activity, being intended by the author, S. A. Kaehler, as a *Beitrag zur Geschichte Deutscher Lebensgestaltung um 1800* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1927, pp. 593).

A useful source-book for modern German history has been compiled by Johannes Hohlfield under the title *Deutsche Reichsgeschichte in Dokumenten 1849–1926*, containing a selection of 450 of the most important documents (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1927, two vols., pp. xxiv, xii, 892).

An important source-collection for the history of the period preceding the founding of the German Empire, viewed from the stand-point of a South German state, is the *Grossherzog Friedrich I. von Baden und die Deutsche Politik von 1854–1871; Briefwechsel, Denkschriften, Tagebücher*, published by the Historical Commission of Baden, under Professor Hermann Oncken's editorship (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1927, vol. I., pp. x, 83, 533; vol. II., pp. 423).

*Das Zeitalter Bismarcks, 1871–1890*, constitutes vol. II. of the *Politische Geschichte des Neuen Deutschen Kaiserreiches* by Johannes Ziekursch (Frankfort, Frankfurter Sozietäts-Dr., 1927, pp. v, 484).

Messrs. Methuen of London are to put forth four volumes of *German Diplomatic Documents, 1871–1914*, selected and translated by E. T. S. Dugdale from the voluminous series of the *Grosse Politik*, especial attention being naturally given to matters touching Great Britain. The first volume, to be published this spring, is *Bismarck's Relations with England and Other Powers, 1871–1890*.

The most recent and most minute effort to account for *Bismarcks Entlassung* is being made, partly on the basis of new documents, by the Swiss scholar Ernst Gagliardi, who has published vol I., *Die Innenpolitik* (Tübingen, Siebeck, 1927, pp. viii, 370).

Important recent publications of the firm of Reissner (Dresden) are the two volumes of Prince Lichnowsky's memoirs, entitled *Auf dem*

*Wege zum Abgrund: Londoner Berichte, Erinnerungen und Sonstige Schriften*; a volume called *Bismarck, Vertrauliche Gespräche u. a. über Wilhelm den Zweiten*, from the papers of his attorney, Justizrat F. Philipp; and *Walther Rathenau, sein Leben und Wirken*, by Etta Federn-Kohlhaas, to whom the family gave access to all letters and documents in their possession.

An English translation of the *Memoirs of Prince Max of Baden*, the last chancellor of the German Empire, is published this spring by Messrs. Constable of London.

The vast *Histoire de la Représentation Diplomatique de la France auprès des Cantons Suisses, de leurs Alliés, et de leurs Confédérés*, begun by Édouard Rott, has now reached its ninth volume, embracing the years 1684-1698 (Paris, Alcan, 1928, pp. 752).

Hermann Büchi is the author of a *Vorgeschichte der Helvetischen Revolution mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Kantons Solothurn*; part II., covering the history of the canton from 1789 to 1798, is now ready (Solothurn, Gassmann; Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1927, pp. xi, 272).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Siegbert Neufeld, *Die Vertreibung der Juden aus Sachsen und Thüringen* (Thüringisch-Sächsische Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, XV. 2); Fürst Otto von Bismarck, *Die Mission des Prinzen Wilhelm nach dem Frieden von Tilsit*, concl. (Preussische Jahrbücher, November); L. Keibel, *Einige Jugendarbeiten aus dem Nachlass Leopold von Ranke*s (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXVII. 2); Ludwig Maenner, *Deutschlands Wirtschaft und Liberalismus in der Krise von 1879* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, V. 11); Karl Thieme, *Bismarcks Sozialpolitik* (*ibid.*); Maurice Lair, *Karl Liebknecht* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July-September); Capt. B. H. Liddell Hart, *Erich von Falkenhayn: a Reputation Ten Years After* (Atlantic Monthly, January); Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Oesterreichs Schicksal im Spiegel des Geflügelten Wortes* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLII. 3).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Dutch Commission for Historical Publications has charged Professor H. van Halphen of Hertogenbosch with the preparation of an edition of the journals and reports of the Council of State during the reign of Philip II.

In the seventh volume of the *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome* (the Hague, Nijhoff), the matters of chief interest to readers of this journal seem to be a contribution on the Dutch pope Adrian VI. by Dr. J. F. M. Sterck, an account, by Dr. J. D. M. Cornelissen, of the relations between the Propaganda and Thomas Erpenius, professor of Arabic at Leiden (d. 1624), whom it vainly sought to convert, and a history of the Dutch community and church at Leghorn, by Dr. G. J. Hoogewerff.

Deel XLVIII. of the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen* of the Dutch Historisch Genootschap (Utrecht) has varied contents: recollections of the struggles of 1787 and 1788 by H. T. Ament of Sneek and Dokkum, a member of the Patriot party and a minor official; documents concerning the mint of the bishopric of Utrecht, 1457-1495, under Bishop David of Burgundy; charters of the thirteenth century; a full description of the house of correction established by Amsterdam in 1596, the pioneer among reformatories, written by Jan van Hout, burgomaster of Leiden, for the benefit of his town council; documents on the relations of Amsterdam to the Peace of Rijswijk; and, filling half the volume, three reports, 1495, 1540, 1594, of official visitations of the convents of the Knights Hospitallers in the Netherlands.

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Messrs. Thornton Butterworth of London publish *The Correspondence of Catherine the Great when Grand Duchess with Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams and Count Poniatowski*, edited and translated from the original Moscow edition in French and Russian by Lord Ilchester and Mrs. Langford-Brooke.

The correspondence of the late Tsar with his wife, published in Russian text by the Soviet government, is to be published in English translation by Messrs. John Lane with the title *The Private Letters of the Tsar Nicholas II., 1904 to 1917*.

Scholars unfamiliar with Russian, but desirous of acquaintance with the official records of that country during the World War, will be glad to hear of the collection of *Documents Diplomatiques Secrets Russes (1914-1917) d'après les Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères à Petrograd; Russie et Turquie, Russie et Bulgarie, Russie et Roumanie, Russie et Italie, Russie et les Détroits* (Paris, Payot, 1928, pp. 336), translated by J. Polonsky and published by the Soviet government.

In view of the part played by sailors in the German and Russian revolutions, a special interest attaches to H. Graf's *La Marine Russe dans la Guerre et dans la Révolution, 1914-1918* (Paris, Payot, 1927, pp. 416).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Edvard Bull, *Jemtland og Norge* (Fornvännan, 1927, 3); Georg Gretor, *Die Zufahrt zur Ostsee und Dänemarks Neutralität* (Europäische Gespräche, November); G. Vernadsky, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Freimaurerei und des Mysticismus in Russland* (Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie, IV. 1-2); G. Vernadsky, *Alexandre I<sup>er</sup> et le Problème Slave pendant la Première Moitié de son Règne* (Revue des Études Slaves, VII. 1-2); Baron Hamilcar von Foelckersam, ehem. Mitglied der Reichsduma, *Aus Meinen Erinnerungen* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); Jules Cambon, *S. Sazonov* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15); Prince Youssouppoff, *La Fin de Raspoutine*, concl. (Revue de Paris, November 15); Edmund A. Walsh, *The Fall of the Russian Empire* (Atlantic Monthly, January, February, March).

## SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Dr. William Miller's well-known manual, *The Ottoman Empire, 1801-1913*, is now presented in a third edition with the title *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors, 1801-1927*, with the addition, justifying the change of title, of chapters on the events attending the World War in the Balkan regions and on the history from the war to 1927 of the Greek, Turkish, and Albanian republics—chapters clear and concise, and making such approach to objectivity as is now possible.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. J. Kerner, *The Mission of Liman von Sanders*, III. (Slavonic Review, March).

## ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

*Baghdad in Bygone Days* (London, Murray), edited by Constance Alexander, consists of the journals and letters of Claudius Rich, traveller, artist, linguist, and antiquarian, and British resident at Baghdad from 1808 to 1821, representing there the East India Company.

*The Letters of Gertrude Bell*, Oriental secretary in Baghdad from its occupation by the British during the World War until her death, are edited by Lady Bell and published by Liveright (New York, two vols.).

*The Cleghorn Papers: a Footnote to History*, the diary kept by Hugh Cleghorn during his journey with Colonel De Meuron to India and Ceylon in 1795-1796, which resulted in the acquisition of Ceylon by Great Britain, has been published in this country by Macmillan, edited by Rev. William Neil (London, A. and C. Black).

The firm of Appleton has brought out *An Outline History of Japan*, by Rev. Herbert H. Gowen, companion volume to the author's *Outline History of China*.

## AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Egyptian Royal Geographical Society publishes the third and final volume of Charles de La Roncière's *La Découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen Age* (Paris, Champion, 1928, pp. 130).

Among French publications relative to North Africa are the *Reconnaissance des Villes, Forts, et Batteries d'Alger* by Chef de Bataillon Boutin (1808), edited by Gabriel Esquer (Paris, Champion, 1928, two vols., pp. xxx, 157, atlas of maps and drawings, pp. 15); the *Correspondance du Général Damrémont* (1837), edited by Georges Yver (*ibid.*, pp. xxv, 800), and the *Kitab El-Istiqa (Histoire du Maroc)*, vol. III., *Les Almohades*, by Ahmed ben Khâled en Naciri es-Slaoui, translated by Ismael Hamet (*ibid.*, pp. 285).

A general history of the whole of South Africa, well prepared and well written, is certain of a welcome. Such is *A History of South Africa* (Longmans), by Professor Eric A. Walker of the University of Cape Town.

Mr. Colin Graham Botha, chief archivist for the Union of South Africa, publishes an interesting little book on *Place-Names in the Cape Province* (Cape Town, Juta, pp. 186) in which a great amount of information regarding names of native and Portuguese origin, names of the Dutch period, and those given since 1806 in commemoration of the British royal family, colonial governors, British and colonial statesmen and officials, and others, is presented in interesting fashion.

## AMERICA

### GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has just published the third volume of the late Professor Bassett's edition of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*. In response to various inquiries, it should be mentioned that his untimely death will not prevent the publication of the remaining three volumes, at about the same intervals of time as have been observed in the case of the first three, for Professor Bassett's editing had been completed to the end of the sixth volume before the first was sent to the printer. The fourth volume of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* will be published within the present month of April. Mr. Jameson ceases in June to be director of the Department of Historical Research. After June 5 letters respecting its affairs should be addressed to its secretary, Miss Cornelia M. Pierce.

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has lately received a collection of sixty-five broadside issues of the Continental Congress, 1776-1786; miscellaneous Louisiana correspondence of 1777-1815, about fifty pieces; the journal of Commander Charles D. Ridgely while in command of the *Erie* and the *Independent* in 1815 and the *Constellation* in 1820-1821; a collection of miscellaneous ballads and hawkers' songs prior to and during the Civil War (467 pieces); a letter-book of Robert McClelland, Secretary of the Interior, 1856-1857; and account-books of a Virginia plantation, 1833-1884.

The twenty-third Congress of Americanists will take place at New York in September next. The organizing committee consists of Messrs. Franz Boas, chairman, P. E. Goddard, secretary, Stewart Culin, G. G. Heye, and A. V. Kidder. Applications for membership in the congress are to be sent to the American Museum of Natural History.

Tome XIX. of the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* contains valuable articles on the historic migrations of the Tupi-Guarani of South America, by A. Métraux, of Clarens, Switzerland, on Bougainville's period of service in the squadron of the Comte d'Estaing, by René de Kérallain, of Quimper, France, and (in German) on Die Gliederung der Stände im Inka-Reich, by Dr. Hermann Trimborn, of Bonn.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for the meeting of April, 1927, contains an account of the East India ventures of Fisher



Ames, illustrative of Massachusetts commercial experience in 1794-1801, by Professor Samuel E. Morison; a paper on the Boston edition of the Baskett Bible by Dr. Charles L. Nichols; and a discourse on the Common Origin of the Middle Colonies by Hampton L. Carson, sustaining the English view of 1664 against the Dutch. Mr. Brigham completes his bibliography of American newspapers, 1690-1820, by the printing of the eighteenth section, an exceptionally important one, describing the newspapers of Virginia (and West Virginia) with his usual care. We may now expect, before long, the issue in book form of the results of his long-continued and learned labors in this field.

The September number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society includes a Statistical Survey of the Church in the United States in 1841, by Sister M. Lucinda Savage; a Report on the Condition of the Church in Philadelphia, June 1, 1838, by Francis Patrick Kenrick, then coadjutor bishop of Philadelphia; the First Pastoral of Bishop Kenrick, from Bardstown, May 19, 1830; and a paper on the Political Status of Roman Catholics in North Carolina, by Rev. James M. Hurley, O. S. A.

Vol. XXVI. of the *Journal* of the American Irish Historical Society contains, besides its record of proceedings of the society, thirty-one brief papers, nineteen of them by Michael J. O'Brien, on Irishmen in America and their doings, chiefly in the colonial and Revolutionary periods.

The January-March number of the *Revue de Littérature Comparée* is specially and entirely devoted to the United States. Professor Bernard Faÿ, in an article on "Franklin et Mirabeau Collaborateurs", shows how largely Mirabeau's *Considérations sur l'Ordre de Cincinnatus* was indebted to Franklin not only for suggestions but for actual text. W. M. Kozłowski treats of the Polish poet Niemcewicz in America and his correspondence with Jefferson; Professor Gabriel Chinard of the appreciations of French literature to be found in the *Southern Literary Messenger*. Professor F. Baldensperger presents a valuable account of Clemenceau's American experiences and observations (1865-1869), chiefly by means of his American letters to the *Temps*, and there are articles on Chateaubriand and Lenau in America.

Under the title *Sidelights on our Social and Economic History* (New York, Century Co., 1927, pp. xiii, 516), Mr. S. E. Forman, an experienced maker of historical text-books, has gathered together 150 or so extracts from a wide variety of books, illustrative of immigration, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, transportation, labor, and daily life, often exceedingly interesting, and well adapted to accompany and enliven textbook instruction in American history.

*Recent Ideas in the Interpretation of American History* (Radio Publication, no. 34, of the University of Pittsburgh), by Professor Alfred P. James, is a series of eleven radio talks in October, November, and Decem-

ber, 1927. The first of these talks is on the Meaning of History, in general, and the next eight are grouped about significant aspects of American history.

Recent issues of the American Library Association's series *Reading with a Purpose* are: *The Westward March of American Settlement*, by Hamlin Garland, with illustrations by Constance Hamlin Garland, and *George Washington*, by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart.

*A Short History of the American Labor Movement*, by Mary A. Beard, is a short, readable, but scholarly treatment of the subject, published by Macmillan in the World Today Bookshelf series. *The History of the American Working Class*, by Anthony Bimba, is brought out in New York by the International Publishers.

As the sixteenth of its volumes the Marine Research Society publishes *The Frigate Constitution and other Historic Ships* (pp. 172, 46 plates), by F. Alexander Magoun of the department of naval architecture in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The data on the *Constitution* in this handsome quarto volume are derived from first-hand examination and measurements at the Boston Navy Yard.

In *The Story of the American Indian* Paul Radin has endeavored to give a history of Indian civilization over the whole of the American continent (Liveright).

Of the *Service Monographs of the U. S. Government*, produced by the Institute for Government Research, no. 47 is *The Bureau of Plant Industry: its History, Activities, and Organization*, by Fred W. Powell; no. 48 is *The Office of Indian Affairs: its History, Activities, and Organization*, by Dr. Laurence F. Schmeckebier.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Mr. Howard M. Chapin, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, has recently brought out the third volume in his *History of American Privateers*. The volume bears the title: *Privateering in King George's War, 1739-1748: the Second Phase of American Colonial Privateering* (the author, 68 Waterman Street, Providence).

A reprint of *The Travels of William Bartram* has been included in the series *An American Bookshelf* (New York, Macy-Masius).

The second volume in Rupert Hughes's biography of Washington, which has recently come from the press, is entitled *George Washington, the Rebel and Patriot, 1762-1777* (New York, William Morrow).

Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out *Bunker Hill: Notes and Queries on a Famous Battle*, by Harold Murdock. The work, besides having a map, is copiously illustrated with portraits, views, facsimiles, and autographs.

William Abbatt has reprinted in a single volume Joseph Ware's *Journal of an Expedition to Quebec* and Ebenezer Wilde's *Journal of a March from Cambridge on an Expedition against Quebec*; also, separately, the Simon Fobes *Journal of a Member of Arnold's Expedition to Quebec* and the *Journal of a British Spy* (John Howe), together with *The Association of the Delegates* (1774), "By Bob Jingle, Esq., Poet Laureate to the Congress".

The celebration, Oct. 8, 1927, of the sesquicentennial of the battle of Saratoga and the dedication of a monument erected on the battlefield have been commemorated in an illustrated pamphlet bearing the title *One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Saratoga and the Surrender of Burgoyne*. The pamphlet contains the pageant in six epochs produced on the occasion, which was prepared by Josephine W. Wickser and adapted to the field by Percy J. Burrell; an account, by Herbert F. Prescott, of the restoration of the Saratoga Battlefield; a regimental roster of the American troops engaged in the campaign, by Borden H. Mills, and other pertinent material; and, what is of especial interest to historical students of the period, a paper by Professor A. C. Flick, state historian, on the significance of Saratoga in American and World History.

The Institut Français de Washington, incorporated in 1926, makes a good and useful beginning of publication by bringing out, in a small but handsome quarto volume of 95 pages, *The Treaties of 1778 and Allied Documents*, edited by Professor Gabriel Chinard, of the Johns Hopkins University, with an introduction by Dr. James Brown Scott, in which the history of the treaties is related. The allied documents, taken from the *Journals of Congress*, are the American plan for the treaties, the instructions to the agents negotiating, and the act of American ratification. The Institut, it is proper to mention once more, is a society formed to promote in the United States the study of French civilization and history, literature and art, and to preserve the memory of French contributions to the development of American civilization. The secretary is the Rev. Jules A. Baisnée, 401 Michigan Avenue, N. E., Washington, D. C.

The *Diary of Francisco de Miranda: Tour of the United States, 1783-1784*, will be published shortly by the Hispanic Society of America, edited with notes and introduction by Professor W. S. Robertson of the University of Illinois.

St. John's College at Annapolis will on May 15 hold a celebration commemorating the Annapolis Convention of 1786. A commission for the restoration and enlargement of St. John's College is making a gratifying effort to acquire for the college, and thus preserve permanently, several of those old colonial houses in Annapolis which form so attractive an adornment of the town, and has put forth attractive illustrated booklets respecting these historic houses.

*James Wilson of St. Andrews: an American Statesman, 1742-1798*, is the title of a small volume (pp. 81) from the pen of Andrew Bennett, secretary of St. Andrews University, Scotland. The subject of this biography is no other than James Wilson, signer of the Declaration of Independence and one of the framers of the Constitution; but emphasis is laid by the author on the fact that Wilson sprang from St. Andrews soil and obtained his education in part at the University of St. Andrews, and that few of the citizens of St. Andrews "have counted for more in the affairs of the world than her half-forgotten son, James Wilson". The volume is an appreciative sketch of Wilson's career (St. Andrews, J. and G. Innes).

Series XLVI., no. 1, of the *Johns Hopkins Studies* is a monograph of 115 pages on the *Mission of William Carmichael to Spain*, by Professor Samuel G. Coe of Southern College, in which Carmichael's career from 1779 to his death in 1795 is followed carefully and intelligently set forth, on the basis of all the needful manuscript materials in the Library of Congress and the Department of State, and other sources.

A volume of the *Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of Alexander Hamilton*, edited by Arthur H. Cole of Harvard University, has been published this spring by the Business Historical Society.

J. van Wageningen, jr., *The Golden Age of Homespun* (pp. 95), no. 203 of the bulletins of the New York State Department of Agriculture and Markets, describes the farming implements, household crafts, and rural industries of the period between the Revolution and the Civil War, with illustrations, in an endeavor to preserve and spread knowledge of the home life of a vanished age.

Four speeches of Abraham Lincoln hitherto unpublished are to be brought out this spring by the Ohio State University Press.

The Century Company announces the forthcoming publication, *Lincoln or Lee*, by Professor William E. Dodd.

*The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen*, pioneer of the Northwest, 1850-1871, edited by Dunbar and Phillips, is from the press of E. Eberstadt (New York, two vols.).

The Houghton Mifflin Company publishes in a small volume *Gen. George Pickett's Letters to his Wife*, edited by A. C. Inman.

*Nine Years among the Indians, 1870-1879*, by Herman Lehman, edited by J. Marvin Hunter, has been published in Austin, Tex., by the Von Boeckmann-Jones Company.

Colonel George B. M. Harvey has produced a life of *Henry Clay Frick: the Man*, which the firm of Scribner has published.

*Adventures in American Diplomacy*, by Professor A. L. P. Dennis, reveals the story of the ten-year period, 1896-1906, when America was called to aid in the settlement of international affairs.

A monograph by Laurence H. Seltzer to which was awarded the Hart, Schaffner, and Marx prize, entitled *A Financial History of the American Automobile Industry*, has been published by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

#### LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

##### NEW ENGLAND

*The History of the Regicides in New England*, by Lemuel A. Welles, has been added to the *New Grafton Historical Series* (New York, F. H. Hitchcock).

Mrs. Harriette M. Forbes, author of a well-known bibliography of New England diaries, is the author of *Gravestones of Early New England, and the Men who made them*. It is published in a limited illustrated edition by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has printed the ninth volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, covering the numerous sessions of 1729-1730 and 1730-1731 and, like its predecessors, shedding authoritative and valuable light on a multitude of miscellaneous matters of history.

In a privately printed volume with excellent illustrations, compiled for Mr. Edward D. Adams of New York, the late J. Gardner Bartlett presents in excellent form a mass of genealogical and historical data respecting *Henry Adams of Somersetshire, England, and Braintree, Mass.: his English Ancestry and Some of his Descendants* (pp. 170). The eminent statesmen and authors of the Adams name are included, and give historical importance to the volume.

In a volume to which has been given the somewhat enigmatical title *All These* (Harvard Press, pp. xii, 314) have been gathered together a number of papers, by the late Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham. Most of them are biographical, treating with much sympathy and insight of Rev. John Cotton, John Fiske, Edward Everett Hale, William Everett, Ruskin, and Maeterlinck.

The January number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains a sketch (signed H. S. T.) of Dr. William Stearns (1754-1819), merchant and apothecary; a letter from Deacon Timothy Pickering to the Salem school committee, Mar. 12, 1765; some letters of Peter Sergeant (1682-1684); some records of Marblehead's foreign commerce, 1789-1850, compiled by the late Francis B. C. Bradlee; the second installment of the *Journal of Hezekiah Loomis*, and other continuations.

Professors Verner W. Crane and Jay B. Botsford, of Brown University, are planning to edit and publish a journal which Henry Marchant, attorney general of Rhode Island in the latter part of the eighteenth century and special agent of the colony in England, kept during his residence and travels in England and Scotland in 1771-1772.

*A Memoir of Thomas March Clark, Fifth Bishop of Rhode Island* by his daughter, Mary Clark Sturtevant, has been edited by Lotta Griswold and published by Morehouse of Milwaukee.

## MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association has in the October number a paper by Dr. Peter H. Bryce, entitled Sir William Johnson, Bart., the Great Diplomat of the British-French Frontier, and reprints, in a translation by Miss Clara Egli of the Division of Maps in the Library of Congress, the *Diary of a Voyage from Stade in Hanover to Quebec in America of the Second Division of Ducal Brunswick Mercenaries*, printed at Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1776.

The pages of the October number of the New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* are chiefly occupied with the Story of the Convention Army, 1777-1783, by Mr. Alexander J. Wall. The story begins with the surrender of General Burgoyne and relates the history of the Convention troops through their several removals and gradual dispersals until the peace of 1783. There are facsimiles, portraits, and a reproduction of the Anburey map.

The December *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library is mainly devoted to descriptions and reproductions of a collection of American historical prints, early American cities, etc., lately installed in the corridors of the library. The chief matter in the January number is an illustrated dissertation on the First Year of Printing in New York, May, 1693-April, 1694, with a list and description of thirty-eight titles, by Dr. Wilberforce Eames.

*A History of New York State, 1523-1927*, edited by James Sullivan, is published by the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York (six vols.).

Messrs. Dodd, Mead, and Company have published a new edition of the well-known *Diary of Philip Hone, 1828-1851*, in two volumes, edited by Professor Allan Nevins of Cornell University.

A new edition of William Kirby's *Annals of Niagara*, a history of Niagara from the first explorations to the eighteen-nineties, a limited number of copies of which were printed in 1896, has been brought out by Macmillan in Toronto. A short introduction, a few notes at the end of each chapter, and a very brief index have been added by the present editor, Lorne Pierce.

The annual *Report* of the Buffalo Historical Society for 1927 presents its usual minutely detailed record of day-by-day happenings in that city during that year.

The January number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society contains a study, by William S. Hunt, of the life of Henry Wil-

liam Herbert ("Frank Forester"), "the Most Unhappy One"; the Journal of Major Matthias Ogden in Arnold's campaign against Quebec (1775); an article by Hiram Blauvelt on Some Jersey Dutch Colonial Hardware; one by Howard M. Canoune on Forgotten Scenes in Georgian New York; a sketch, by Rev. Charles S. Lewis, of George Keith, the Missionary (1638-1716); one of Thomas Farmar, First Mayor of New Brunswick, by William H. Benedict; and the conclusion of the extracts from Seth Boyden's Diary concerning his days in California.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has lately acquired 127 volumes of the correspondence of the firm of Lea and Febiger, extending back to the time of Mathew Carey; a body of the correspondence of Humphrey Marshall, the botanist; a collection of letters addressed to Joshua Humphreys, in connection with the early navy of the United States; and a number of account and letter-books of Thomas A. Biddle and Company.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* has in the January number a paper by Hon. William R. Riddell on Pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania and the Slave Trade; one by Albert F. Gerberich on the Battle of Lake Maracaibo; and the Narrative of Thomas McKean Thompson. The latter, chiefly family history and recollections of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, is contributed by P. F. Thompson.

In *Papers* read before the Lancaster County Historical Society, vol. XXXI., nos. 9 and 10 (November 4 and December 2), is one by Paul E. Beck on Christian Myers, Immigrant Iron Master and a Founder of Clarion County, together with a list of iron furnaces operating in Clarion County between 1828 and 1860.

The October number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* has an article by Pearl E. Wagner on Economic Conditions in Western Pennsylvania during the Whiskey Rebellion, one by Mildred Williams on Hugh Henry Brackenridge as a Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 1799-1816, and one by Claude M. Newlin on Brackenridge as a writer. The principal paper in the January number is the Life and Adventures of Lieutenant-Colonel John Connolly, Tory, by Percy R. Caley. Briefer articles are: the Historic Pittsburgh Point, by William H. Stevenson, John Brown in Pennsylvania, by Rev. John S. Duncan, and a Sketch of Colonel Joel Ferree's Regiment in the War of 1812, by J. Sutton Wall.

Walter A. Powell's *History of Delaware*, published by the Christopher Publishing House, Boston, is in two volumes: the first a general history from the first discoveries to 1925; the second a history of education in the state.



## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* has in the December number, besides the continued series—Calvert and Darnall Gleanings from English Wills, Account and Letter-Books of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis, and Maryland Rent Rolls—some account of the colonial records of Somerset County, contributed by Louis D. Scisco.

The January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* contains an article by Paul H. Giddens on the Co-operation of the Southern Colonies in the Forbes Expedition against Fort Duquesne; part II. of David I. Bushnell's contribution concerning John White, artist to Raleigh's colony, including a number of Indian portraits; some prefatory notes to a Diary of William Beverley of "Blandfield" during a visit to England in 1750 (presumably the diary is to follow in the next issue); a Draft for the Creation of a Bishoprick in Virginia (time of Charles II.), translated by the late Rt. Rev. William Cabell Brown; some documents pertaining to the colony west of Blue Ridge proposed by Jacob Stauber and others (1731, etc.); and further Letters of the Byrd Family.

A fund has been subscribed in Virginia to support the compiling and publishing of a comprehensive analytical index of some 100 volumes of local historical periodicals and other repositories of original material for Virginia history. The editor will be Dr. E. G. Swem, of the College of William and Mary, who estimates that the compilation will require three years of work. The index is to cover the *Virginia Historical Register* of 1848-1853, the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, the *Virginia Magazine of History*, the *William and Mary Historical Quarterly*, and *Tyler's Historical Quarterly*.

The principal contents of the January number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* are the concluding installments, respectively, of Dr. L. C. Gray's study of the Market Surplus Problem of Colonial Tobacco and that of Mr. Julius F. Prufer of the Franchise in Virginia from Jefferson through the Convention of 1829, and a continuation of the Documents of Sir Francis Wyatt.

The January number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains an article by William B. McGroarty on the Washington Society of Alexandria; and the address of Hon. R. Walton Moore, entitled Formation of the Union, delivered at York, Pa., Oct. 14, 1927, on the occasion of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the session of the Continental Congress there.

Among the recent accessions of the North Carolina Historical Commission are: 70 volumes and more than 1000 papers of Johnston County records; one volume of Tryon County records; a body of the papers of John D. Whitford, including manuscripts and pamphlets relating to the history of the Baptist church, 700 manuscripts relating to the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, 241 issues of North Carolina newspapers,

1865-1905, etc.; and a large body of photostats and transcripts from the London Public Record Office and the Archivo General de Indias at Seville.

From time to time during the last three years Professor W. K. Boyd has reprinted in the *North Carolina Historical Review* various rare pamphlets relating to historical transactions in his state. Fourteen of these, ranging in date from 1740 to 1791, are now republished as one of the volumes of the North Carolina Historical Commission, *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts concerning North Carolina* (Raleigh, pp. 508), with introduction and notes by Dr. Boyd and facsimiles of title-pages. The copies used are in most cases unique, printed in places, and now preserved in libraries, outside the borders of the state. Rare contributions to the sources for its history are therefore here preserved.

Charles C. Ware of Wilson, N. C., is the author and publisher of a *History of Disciples of Christ in North Carolina*.

Another volume has been added to the growing number of books about J. B. Duke. This life of *James B. Duke, Master-BUILDER*, by J. J. Wilber, deals with the development of southern and Canadian water-power, as well as with the founding of Duke University and with tobacco.

In the October number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* the Correspondence of Henry Laurens, annotated by Hon. Joseph W. Barnwell, is brought down to the beginning of the year 1769. In the same number is begun the correspondence (1766-1775) of Charles Garth, agent for the province of South Carolina in England, also edited by Judge Barnwell.

In the December number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* Josephine D. Martin gives some account of the origin of the Society of Midway and of its goodly human products; William B. Collins furnishes a note on Herschel V. Johnson in the Georgia Secession Convention; and John Morris contributes the second part of his study of the Name of Oglethorpe. Some letters from Gen. John Twiggs's order-book (1807-1812) and the muster-roll of the first Georgia battalion of Continental troops occupy the section of Notes and Documents.

The Florida Historical Society *Quarterly* prints in the January number a first installment of the Letters of Samuel Forry, surgeon of the United States army, 1837-1838, written to Lieutenant, afterward General, John W. Phelps and relating to the Seminole War. Among the other contents of this number are an article by Thelma Bates on the Legal Status of the Negro in Florida, and one by Chief-Justice C. H. Dupont of the Supreme Court of Florida on the History of the Introduction and Culture of Cuba Tobacco in Florida.

The Mississippi Historical Society prints, under the title *A Symposium on the Place of Discovery of the Mississippi River by Hernando*

*de Soto*, several studies on that question by T. H. Lewis, Dr. Dunbar Rowland, and Judge J. P. Young, which have been printed in the *Publications* of the society, and a fresh essay on the subject by Charles A. Barton, valuable for special topographical knowledge.

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* has in the issue for July, 1927, a paper by Professor James E. Winston on New Orleans and the Texas Revolution; one by Mr. John S. Kendall on Early New Orleans Newspapers; a third installment of Documents concerning Bienville's Lands in Louisiana, 1719-1737; and a reprint, from the *New York Nation* (Feb. 27, 1879), of an article on Election Frauds in Plaquemines Parish in 1844.

William P. Spratling and Natalie Scott are the authors of a volume on *Old Plantation Houses in Louisiana* (New York, William Helburn).

#### WESTERN STATES

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March opens with an article by President Charles H. Rammelkamp on the Reverberation of the Slavery Conflict in a Pioneer College (Illinois College), forming the sequel to his treatment of the earlier phase of the same subject in the *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1908. This is followed by a paper on the Influence of the Silver-Republican Senators, 1889-1891, by Fred Wellborn; an address on Louis Kossuth's Appeal to the Middle West, 1852, read by Professor John W. Oliver at the New Orleans meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association last May; and a paper on the Grain Trade of New Orleans, 1804-1814, by Professor W. F. Galpin of Syracuse. The documents are an interesting body of Civil War letters of Samuel Merrill, lieutenant-colonel of the 70th Regiment Indiana Volunteers, of which Benjamin Harrison, later President of the United States, was colonel.

By gifts from two of its officers, Major Birger Osland and Mr. O. M. Oleson, the Norwegian-American Historical Association has been enabled to conduct an elaborate inquiry, through the competent hands of Professor Knut Gjerset of Luther College, into the history of *Norwegian Sailors on the Great Lakes* (Northfield, Minn., the Association, 1928, pp. 211). Norwegian emigrants, seamen in Norway, gravitated naturally toward similar work on the Lakes, and contributed an important chapter to the history of American inland transportation. The book (well illustrated) naturally deals much in detail of individual lives, yet in the sum total presents an impressive record.

The December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a timely discourse by Logan Esarey on the Outlook for History, an article by George Pence on Philip Sweetser and his Times, and the concluding installment of Allen Wiley's history of Methodism in South-eastern Indiana.

The *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* has in the January number the first installment of an extended study by Rev. Joseph P. Ryan, A. F. M., of Travel Literature as Source-Material for American Catholic History, and an article by Rev. Laurence J. Kenny, S.J., on George Rogers Clark in Ohio.

The January number of the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society contains an article by Professor Archibald Henderson entitled North Carolina and Kentucky, a Study in Origins; one by Helen B. Lindsey on Early Days in Campbell County, Kentucky, 1790-1850; and an installment of the Journal of Capt. Robert B. McAfee, of Col. Richard M. Johnson's regiment, embodying a record (together with numerous orders) of the march from Kentucky to Lake Erie and return, 1813-1814.

Articles in the January number of the Filson Club's *History Quarterly* are: an autobiographical Sketch of the Early Adventures of William Suduth in Kentucky, taken from the Draper Manuscripts; Kentucky's Overland Trade with the Ante-Bellum South, by Elizabeth L. Parr; and John Rogers, Revolutionary War Soldier, and his Relics in Kentucky, by Susan M. G. Weever. The club has acquired two adjoining lots in Louisville, on which are houses now being connected and remodelled, with the addition of fire-proof vaults, to suit the requirements of the club in respect to its collections and meetings.

In the January number of the *Michigan History Magazine* Mr. Randolph G. Adams writes of the Whys and Wherefores of the William L. Clements Library, aiming, apparently, to point a moral, but telling at the same time a very interesting story. Other articles are: a sketch of Dr. Tappan, First President of the University of Michigan, by Dr. Charles M. Perry; an account of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, by Dr. Carl E. Guthrie; and the Story of Zeeland, by Letta P. Wells, with a document relating to the founding of the town, contributed by Henry S. Lucas.

Mr. M. M. Quaife recounts, in the January number of the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, under the title An Artilleryman of Old Fort Mackinac, the exploits of Sergeant James Keating; in the March number he sketches briefly a biography of the Sieur de Bourgmont.

In the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* appear a first installment of the Pioneer and Political Experiences of Nils P. Haugen; a sketch, by Theodore A. Boerner, of Charles Lau, a Pioneer Educator of Ozaukee County; three letters of General Rufus King, describing a journey from Milwaukee to St. Paul in August, 1855 (reprinted from the Milwaukee *Sentinel*); and "A Packet of Old Letters", being an account, by Florence Gratiot Bale, of the Gratiots and Hempsteads, with extracts of letters written in the 'thirties by Susan Hempstead Gratiot (1797-1854). The editor, Dr. Schafer, contributes a very suggestive

discussion of Washington and his Biographers. The March number has, besides the continuation of Mr. Haugen's reminiscences, the Memoirs of a Pioneer County Editor, Joseph Carman Cover; the Annals of a Wisconsin Thresherman (Ole C. Olson), by Angie K. Main; and an account, by John G. Gregory, of the Parkman Club, a local organization of historically minded people, which, during the years 1895-1898, produced some eighteen monographs. The letters of the Rev. Adelbert Inama are continued through both numbers.

The Minnesota Historical Society has acquired an incomplete file, for the years 1831-1900, of the annual *Berichte* of the Leopoldinen-Stiftung, a Viennese Catholic organization interested in mission work among the American Indians; copies of the baptismal records of three of the early Catholic missionaries (Fathers Baraga, Pierz, and Ravoux); records of the Sweetman Irish colony (the early 'eighties) at Currie, Minn.; and photostatic copies of important letters relating to mission schools in Minnesota, the latter from the U. S. Senate files and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In the December number of *Minnesota History* are found an article by Henry Commager on the Literature of the Pioneer West, one by Thomas P. Christensen on Danish Settlement in Minnesota, the Unfinished Autobiography of Henry Hastings Sibley, edited by Theodore C. Blegen, and some extracts from Hugo Nisbeth's *Två Ar i Amerika (1872-1874): Reseskildringar* (Stockholm, 1874) translated and edited by Roy W. Swanson. Among the contents of the March number are an article on Daniel Webster and the West, by Professor C. A. Duniway, and one on Backgrounds of Minnesota, by Governor Theodore Christianson.

Two articles occupy the pages of the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, namely, Abandoned Railroads of Iowa, by Ben Hur Wilson, and Economic History of the Production of Beef Cattle in Iowa, by John A. Hopkins, jr. In the December number of the *Palimpsest* Herman H. Trachsel describes a pioneer group on the border between Iowa and Missouri, known as the "Hairy Nation"; in the January number John E. Briggs relates the history of the creation of the Territory of Iowa; while the February number contains a group of articles on the Indians of Iowa.

The latest issue in the *Iowa Biographical Series* published by the State Historical Department is a life, by Jacob A. Swisher, of Leonard F. Parker (1825-1911), professor in Iowa College 1859-1870, 1888-1898, and in the State University 1870-1887, teacher of Greek and history, and a man of great influence upon educational work in the state.

The principal content of the January number of the *Annals of Iowa* is a Contribution toward a Bibliography of the Newspapers established in Iowa before the Civil War, by David C. Mott.

The February number of the Missouri Historical Society *Collections* contains an illustrated article on Our Indian Ambassadors to Europe, by Grant Foreman; an account, by W. G. B. Carson, of the Beginnings of the Theatre in St. Louis; the Journals of Jules de Mun, translated by Mrs. Nettie M. Beauregard and edited by Professor Thomas M. Marshall, together with a brief account of the De Mun family in France, by the Marquis de Mun of Paris.

The contents of the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* include an article by Walter B. Stevens entitled the Tragedy of the St. Louis Republic; one on the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College and its Founder, Joseph Baldwin, by Lucy Simmons and P. O. Selby; one on Salt River, by George A. Mahan; a reprint, from the *Nebraska History Magazine*, of Mr. Addison E. Sheldon's paper entitled the Missouri River Region as seen by the First White Explorers; and the first installment of a reprint of William H. Richardson's *Journal* of Doniphan's expedition.

The George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, publishes an elaborate study of *Opposition in Missouri to Thomas Hart Benton* (pp. 238) by Dr. Charles H. McClure, formerly of the State Teachers' College in Warrensburg, Mo., in which the author, controverting the current view that Benton's overthrow in 1851 was due to the sudden rise of the slavery question, shows that opposition to him in Missouri began as far back as 1839, upon the currency question, which was later allied to certain constitutional problems; that in 1844 an opposition already well organized, seizing upon the Texas issue, made his election to the Senate difficult; and that therefore his defeat in 1851 had long preparation.

The January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* has an article by Rupert N. Richardson on Framing the Constitution of the Republic of Texas; one by Wells A. Hutchins on the Community of Acequia, its Origin and Development; and the second installment of the History of the J. A. Ranch, by Harley T. Burton.

*The Spiritual Conquest of the Southwest* is the title of a volume by Rev. J. M. Dawson, which has been published in Nashville by the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

*James Andrew Wilson, Life, Travels, and Adventures*, is the autobiography of a man who spent his early years in the midst of stirring times in Texas (Austin, Gammel).

The October number of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* contains an account of Fort Mandan, 1804-1806, with extracts from the Lewis and Clark Journal, and a biographical account, by Vernice M. Aldrich, of Father George Antoine Belcourt, Red River Missionary, being extracts in translation from Judge L. A. Prudhomme's *Monsieur Georges-Antoine Belcourt, Missionnaire à la Rivière Rouge*.

The *Nebraska History Magazine* devotes the July-September number to "the War between Nebraska and Kansas: Both Sides of the Dispute over the True Location of the Pike-Pawnee Indian Village". Contributions to the controversy are furnished by various writers, with numerous excerpts from the records of explorers.

The December number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* contains a Journal kept by Douglas Cooper of an expedition by a company of Chickasaws (1858), with introduction and notes by Grant Foreman; an account of Chickasaw Courts, with Reminiscences of Judge John H. Mashburn, by Mrs. C. C. Conlan; and a history of the Fort Towson Road, by James Culberson.

Among the articles in the December number of the *Colorado Magazine* are one on Pioneer Life, by Mrs. Daniel Witter; one entitled Experiences in the West, by George W. Thompson; one concerning the Hicklins on the Greenhorn, by D. W. Working; and some account of the Kuykendall Collection of Cowboy Equipment, by Philip A. Rollins.

In the January number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* John P. Clum has an article on Gerónimo; Professor Herbert E. Bolton one on Escalante in Dixie and the Arizona Strip, largely extracts from Escalante's own narrative, with copious annotations by Professor Bolton; and Barreiro's *Ojeada sobre Nuevo Mexico*, with introduction and notes by Lansing B. Bloom.

Jacob S. Robinson's *Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition* (1846) has been reprinted by William Abbatt as *Magazine of History* Extra no. 128.

*Some Recollections of a Western Ranchman*, by William French, describes life in New Mexico, 1833-1899 (New York, Stokes).

Among the articles in the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* are: the Trading Voyages of the *Atahualpa*, by Judge F. W. Howay; the Great Basin before 1850, by L. H. Creer; the Name of Mount Robson a Puzzle, by Edmond S. Meany; and the Diary of Robert Robe while crossing the plains in 1851.

*Historical Publication*, no. 6, of the Concord Society is a paper by Professor Erwin G. Gudde of the University of California, entitled German Pioneers in Early California.

*Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society*, no. 15 (read before the society Oct. 18, 1927), include: Historic Kealahakua Bay, by Bishop Henry B. Restarick; Liholiho, a Revised Estimate of his Character, by Albert Pierce Taylor; and Whence Paoa? by John F. G. Stokes.

#### CANADA

The Canadian Historical Association's *Report* of the annual meeting held in Toronto last May presents nearly a dozen brief papers of high quality read on that occasion, and having unity by reason of concentra-



tion upon the general theme of the Confederation effected sixty years before. Especially noteworthy perhaps are the papers of Professors W. T. Waugh on the Development of Imperial Relationship, and R. G. Trotter on British Finance and Confederation; but the papers of Professor Chester Martin on Confederation and the West, and of Judge Howay on British Columbia's Entry into the Confederation also present fresh matter, not made familiar by the usual histories of central action at Quebec and London.

In the *Canadian Historical Review* for December Mr. A. Gordon Dewey of Columbia University traces the development and results of Canada's attitude regarding imperial relationships in the period preceding the World War. Mr. F. M. Montessor, of London, contributes a description of various Canadian Villages about 1760, made contemporaneously to accompany an elaborate map made by General Murray's engineers at that time. Mr. H. A. Innis of the University of Toronto sheds much light on the series of partnerships known as the North West Company, in connection with an agreement of 1790 found in the archives of the Seminary of Quebec. In the March number G. E. Wilson gives a history of New Brunswick's Entrance into Confederation.

At Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, a generous alumnus some years ago founded a lectureship in Canadian history. Rather more than a year ago, on this foundation, Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, of Ottawa, gave three interesting lectures on the *Discovery of Canada*, which now have been published at Sackville by the *Argosy*. They deal respectively with the discovery of the eastern coast and the St. Lawrence Valley, with the exploration of the central plains and the North country, and with that of the Pacific coast regions of Canada.

M. Pierre-Georges Roy, archivist of the Province of Quebec, has published two volumes (more are to be expected) of an *Inventaire des Concessions en Fief et Seigneurie, Fois et Hommages, et Aveux et Dénombrements* (Beauceville, *L'Éclaireur*), from documents preserved in his archives, presenting the official data relating to certain seigniories of New France—invaluable material for the student. Of land grants of a later period the Abbé Ivanhoe Caron presents the history, with much documentary material, in *Colonisation de la Province de Québec: les Cantons de l'Est, 1791-1815* (Quebec, *L'Action Sociale*, 1927, pp. ix, 379), the theme being the early settlement of the Eastern Townships by English-speaking settlers brought in by the British government.

Of the twelve volumes reporting the recent litigation between Canada and Newfoundland with regard to the Labrador boundary, *In the Privy Council: In the Matter of the Boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the Colony of Newfoundland and Labrador Peninsula*, several volumes consist of a valuable collection of historical documents.

Professor W. Stewart Wallace, of the University of Toronto, commemorates the one hundredth anniversary of that institution by an illus-

rated *History of the University of Toronto, 1827-1927*, published by the University Press.

Papers in the *Transactions*, part XII. (1927), of the London and Middlesex Historical Society are: the Exiles of 1838 from Canada to Van Diemen's Land, by Fred Landon; Some Early Newspapers and Newspaper Men of London, by the same writer; the Reverend Richard Flood, Indian Missionary and Rector of Delaware, 1834-1865, by James J. Talman; and an account of the town of Strathroy, 1832-1925, by Sutherland Cuddy.

#### AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The *Hispanic American Historical Review* has in the February number an article by Lillian E. Fisher on the Intendant System in Spanish America, one by Eunice J. Gates on Don José Antonio de Areche and his Defense, another by Anna I. Powell on the Relations between the United States and Nicaragua, 1898-1916, and a discussion by Osgood Hardy of the question Was Patrick Egan a "Blundering Minister"? There is a group of documents pertaining to James Wilkinson's First Descent to New Orleans in 1787, with an extended introduction by Arthur P. Whitaker. In view of the "richly merited honors and plaudits" which Wilkinson declares Captain Carbery had won in the war, it would have added a helpful note to the story if Carbery's identity had been pointed out; for he was doubtless no other than that Capt. Henry Carbery who had had a principal hand in the mutiny of 1783 and had not yet cleared his record on that account.

The Cervantes Prize of 10,000 pesetas will in 1930 be awarded for the best manuscript written in Spanish, on the viceroyalty of New Spain or that of Peru. Manuscripts should be sent, under pseudonym (with envelope containing real name), to the dean of the grandees of Spain, the Duque de Fernan-Núñez, Calle de Santa Isabel, 43, Madrid, reaching that address before February 1, 1930.

The Mexican National Museum of Archaeology and History published in 1927 two valuable volumes of materials respecting Morelos, *Morelos: Documentos Inéditos y poco Conocidos* (pp. xxiv, 426, 438).

The archaeologist Jean Genet, whose history of the Mayas has been noticed in this journal, offers an *Esquisse d'une Civilisation Oubliée; le Yucatan à travers les Ages* (Paris, Genet, 1927, pp. 280).

*Maya Cities* (Scribners, pp. 256), by Thomas Gann, is, as its subtitle indicates, "a record of exploration and adventure" rather than in any way an important contribution to historical knowledge, but there is interest in such pioneering explorations, and they may lead to useful contributions to archaeology, though the description of the ancient Maya civilization, in the book's dedication, as "one of the greatest the world has ever known", will seem to the sober historical reader to be hardly warranted by what has thus far been discovered.

The World Peace Foundation has brought out *Nicaragua and the United States, 1909-1927*, by Professor Isaac J. Cox.

As a by-product of a study of economic conditions in the British Caribbean from the Peace of Paris to Emancipation, now nearly completed, Dr. Lowell J. Ragatz of George Washington University has prepared two lists which will be found exceedingly useful by the student of that region and period, *A Check-List of House of Commons Sessional Papers relating to the British West Indies and West Indian Slave Trade and Slavery, 1763-1834*, and *A Guide to the Official Correspondence of the Governors of the British West India Colonies with the Secretary of State, 1763-1833* (London, the Bryan Edwards Press; Washington, D. C., Paul Pearlman, pp. 42 and 79).

Dr. Maria Fassbinder's *Der Jesuitenstaat im Paraguay* (Halle, Niemeyer) gives an excellent account, based on scholarly research in the archives of Seville, Buenos Aires, and Rio de Janeiro, as well as on printed authorities, of an important, and in its time much debated, episode in the history of South America.

A recent work of importance to the student of the movement for Argentine independence is *Las Sociedades Secretas, Políticas, y Masónicas en Buenos Aires, 1795-1816*, by Señor Martin V. Lascano, published in two volumes in Buenos Aires (1927, pp. 398, 508).

The preliminaries of the war of 1825-1828 waged by the Argentinians against the empire of Brazil and the military operations up to the battle of Ituzaingó inclusive, are related by Señor Juan Beverina in *La Guerra contra el Imperio del Brasil* (Buenos Aires, Biblioteca del Oficial, 1927, pp. 397).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: D. S. Muzzey, *Fathers of the Republic: Legend or History?* (Forum, January); Curtis Nettels, *The Beginnings of Money in Connecticut* (Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, XXIII.); Elizabeth S. Kite, *The Untold Story of George Washington and the French Alliance* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, February); George C. Cell, *The First Foundations of American Methodism* (Methodist Quarterly Review, January-February); William F. Harris, *Methodism and her Secessions* (*ibid.*, January); W. M. Gewehr, *Some Factors in the Expansion of Frontier Methodism, 1800-1811* (Journal of Religion, January); G. d'Anglade, *Une Page de l'Histoire de la Louisiane: les Lafitte* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); Captains David Porter and John Rodgers, *Report, November 25, 1815, on Conditions and Needs of Navy* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, December); Gamaliel Bradford, *Henry Clay* (Virginia Quarterly Review, January); Gamaliel Bradford, *John Caldwell Calhoun* (Southwest Review, Winter); Herman F. Krafft, *Commodore John Downes* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, January); E. Clowes Chorley, *John Stark Ravenscroft, First Bishop of*

*North Carolina* (American Church Monthly, March); Merle E. Curti, *George N. Sanders: American Patriot of the 'Fifties* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); Charles Kassel, *The Labor System of General Banks: a Lost Episode of Civil War History* (Open Court, January); A. L. P. Dennis, *The Origin of the Open Door* (Current History, February); Frances Scarborough, *Old Spanish Missions in Texas, I., San Francisco de la Espada* (Southwest Review, Winter); Sam Acheson, *Clio, Incorporated* [Hubert Howe Bancroft] (*ibid.*); J. Delalande, *Le Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, June); Fred Landon, *The American Civil War and Canadian Confederation* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1927, sect. II.); V. Salado Alvarez, *El Diario de uno Amigo de México* [John Quincy Adams] (Revista Mexicana de Estudios Históricos, March-April, 1927); J. Tramond, *Saint-Domingue en 1756 et 1757*, III. (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, XV. 4); Isaac Manulis, *La Real Audiencia Pretorial de Buenos Aires* (Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, no. 34); Emilio Ravignani, *Las Provincias Interiores y la Obra Constituyente del Congreso Nacional de 1824-1827* (*ibid.*, no. 32).

#### CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Dr. Samuel Rezneck is a professor of history and social science in the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.

Miss Violet Barbour is an associate professor of history in Vassar College.

Miss Frances Morehouse is an assistant professor of history in Hunter College.

Dr. Robert G. Albion is an assistant professor of history in Princeton University.

Dr. Merle E. Curti is an assistant professor of history in Smith College.

Mr. Francis Sullivan is an architect in Washington, D. C.